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ART. I. *The Present State of Turkey; or a Description of the Political, Civil, and Religious Constitution, Government and Laws, of the Ottoman Empire; the Finances; Military and Naval Establishments; the State of Learning; and of the Liberal and Mechanical Arts; the Manners, and Domestic Economy of the Turks, and other Subjects of the Grand Signor, &c. &c. &c.; together with the Geographical, Political and Civil State of the Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia, from Observations made during a Residence of Fifteen Years in Constantinople and the Turkish Provinces.* By Thomas Thornton, Esq. 4to. pp. 468. London. Mawman. 1807.

THE subject of this work is in an uncommon degree interesting at the present moment; but we are inclined to bestow particular attention upon it, rather from a consideration of the permanent importance of the contents, than because of the temporary attractions which the discussion possesses. No general work of authority has appeared upon the affairs of Turkey for a great length of time. Since the publications of Rycaut and Cantemir, important changes have taken place in the state of that extensive empire. The *Tableau General* of D'Ohsson is scarcely known in this country; and though exceedingly valuable, so far as it goes, from the author's peculiar opportunities of information, is still very incomplete, that part only having been published which treats of the religion of the Turks. * Mr Eton's book abounds in mis-

* We have not had the advantage of consulting this work; but we suppose that it comprehends, under *religion*, a considerable portion of the other branches of the subject. The author is an Armenian, born in Turkey, and a tributary subject of the Porte. Mr Thornton, very properly, appeals to his authority, as in most cases preferable to that of other writers, on disputed points.

takes; is evidently written under the impression of a political theory, and receives more than its share of mercy, if its misrepresentations are imputed to the influence of such a prepossession. The work now under review, we therefore consider as a valuable accession to statistical knowledge, and as, on the whole, the best general account of the Turkish empire hitherto published.

We must not, however, disguise from our readers, the labour which they will have to encounter, if they follow our advice, and peruse Mr Thornton's book. It is very ill put together, and badly written. The materials are not used to the best advantage; and we suspect they have been furnished by the collector to some one ignorant of the subject; and by him, according to the fashion of the times, made into a book, with the assistance of former publications on the same subject. If this be the case, Mr Thornton has committed the further mistake of employing an unskilful writer. There is no distinct or convenient arrangement—things are not to be found in their proper places—repetitions are frequent—contradictions not uncommon—the common benefits of an index are denied to the weary reader—much of what should be given as part of Mr Thornton's narrative or discussion, is thrown into the form of criticism upon the writings of his predecessors, who are indeed *reviewed*, in a desultory way, in almost every page. The notes contain a large portion of what belongs, properly, to the text; which is thus, every where, quite imperfect without them, and very often is materially altered by them. On disputed questions, we can scarcely ever get hold of a clear opinion. This author is wrong—that author is not right; and Mr Thornton gives his own account of the matter, subject to so many modifications and restrictions, and scattered over so many parts of his subject, that we do not, after all, see his meaning,—or perhaps find it coincides with the doctrines he has been criticizing. The general dissertations are very meagre and superficial. The style is verbose and full of pretensions to eloquence. Declamation, which is so foreign to the object of any scientific work, and so peculiarly misplaced in a statistical treatise, abounds in every page. To it, great sacrifices of correctness, as well as conciseness, are evidently made; and we frequently have the impression that things are said, because the writer had a turn of expression suited to them, and not because they were essential to the elucidation of the subject. To satisfy our readers, once for all, of the manner of writing used by Mr Thornton, we shall extract a part of his long eulogium on the ancient Greeks, introduced professedly for the purpose of contrasting them with their descendants; but, in some degree also, (as we should suppose), for the sake of its eloquence.

'Who are the modern Greeks? and whence did Constantine collect the mixed population of his capital; the herd of dogmatists and hypo-

crites, whom ambition had converted to the new religion of the court? certainly not from the families which have immortalized Attica and Laconia. They never sprang from those Athenians, whose patriotic ardour could not wait the tardy approach of the Persian army, but impelled them over the plains of Marathon, to an unpremeditated charge, whereby they forced the superior numbers of an invading enemy to seek refuge in the sea. The lofty spirit of Athenian independence could not brook the mild yoke of Persian despotism: they refused to dishonour the soil of Attica, by offering the smallest particle of it as a tribute to a foreign sovereign: though their enlightened patriotism could, upon a great emergency, rise superior even to the natural attachment which so powerfully binds men to their native soil; they abandoned their city, with the temples of their deities, and the tombs of their ancestors, to the fury of the barbarians; and embarked on board their navy, what really constituted the Athenian commonwealth, the whole of the Athenian citizens.

'From Athens and the borders of the Ilissus, the seat of literature and science, even when arms were wrested from the hands of its citizens, the invitation of Constantine attracted no philosopher. The capital, with all its allurements of splendour and luxury, could not come in competition with the more enchanting impressions of groves and gardens consecrated to philosophy and science: and they continued to study the doctrines of the Porch, the Lyceum, and the Academy, on the same ground where they were first promulgated, until Theodosius finally expelled them. Still less can the modern Greeks be supposed the descendants of the citizens of Sparta, of those ferocious warriors to whom a state of actual warfare was repose, when compared with the intervals of hostility, spent in gymnastic exercises, and the most fatiguing duties of the military life. Formed by the rigid observance of the laws of Lycurgus, and animated with the warmest enthusiasm of real patriotism, Leonidas and his small illustrious band, with deliberate resolution, devoted their lives at Thermopylæ for the freedom of Greece. But the Spartans were the terror of all the neighbouring states, except those who were their dependent allies. At length the devouring fire of their valour consumed itself: and, long before the seat of government was removed from Rome to Constantinople, the Spartan families, if not wholly extinct, could no longer be distinguished among the mass of submissive subjects of the Roman empire.' 69, 70, 71.

Such are the principal defects of which we have to complain in the composition of this work. They are no doubt very serious evils, and exceedingly diminish its value. It contains, nevertheless, a great deal that deserves praise. The author is, in general, free from strong prejudices. If he seems to lean a little too much towards the Turks, he fairly states his reasons, and shows that others have exaggerated their defects. He is, in a proper degree, prone to incredulity, where travellers and writers of descriptions have asserted what is unlikely or strange; and is

frequently successful in detecting such tales by their inconsistencies, without having recourse to his own authority as an eyewitness. His opportunities of procuring information, however, have been considerable. He resided at Constantinople fourteen years in the British factory, and fifteen months at Odessa, and made, during that time, occasional excursions to Asia Minor, and the islands of the Archipelago. He enjoyed the acquaintance of the most respectable foreign ministers and their interpreters, and was tolerably well versed in the language. His leisure, which he says was considerable, seems to have been employed in reading the accounts of those who had treated of Turkish affairs, and in detecting their mistakes or misrepresentations. A great part of his book is accordingly made up of such remarks; and though we are sure that he is frequently led into errors, from the desire of finding other people in the wrong, and sometimes see him differing from them for the sake of objecting, when there is clearly no opposition of sentiments; yet we cannot deny that his pages contain a mass of corrections, which must render the works already in our possession much more valuable. Had he only given his information in a more distinct and orderly manner, and conveyed it in a less ambitious style, so as to have made his meaning more intelligible, we should have been contented with recommending the book to our readers, and only stated the few points on which we differ from him. But the defects of his arrangement, and the contradictions and repetitions through which we have to work our way to the substance of his statements, as well as the declamation in which they are wrapt up, render it desirable that we should digest the most important parts of the information which this book contains, in as conscise an abstract as the nature of the subject will permit.

In pursuing this plan, we shall make no apology for deviating entirely from Mr Thornton's arrangement. He divides his work into nine chapters. The first contains general remarks on the manners and institutions of the Turks; and the second, professing to trace the rise and progress of the Ottoman power, gives a few short notices of the chief epochs in its history, and then runs into a number of unconnected, and, for the most part, superficial dissertations on the present state and future prospects of the empire. Almost the whole of those two chapters should have come after every other part of the subject had been discussed. The third chapter treats of the constitution, and the fourth of the judicial establishments; although we conceive it is impossible, with any advantage, to separate those two subjects, or to discuss them clearly, without a previous attention to the religion of this theocracy, which is reserved for a part of the seventh

chapter. The military and naval department, and the finances, occupy, with sufficient precision and distinctness, the fifth and sixth; though they contain a good deal of matter belonging to the questions discussed in the third. The seventh chapter treats of religion, manners and customs; the eighth of women, and domestic economy,—another separation singularly injudicious, as the subjects of those two chapters are nearly the same; and the book concludes with a desultory account of Moldavia and Wallachia. Instead of following this arrangement, we shall class whatever we have found scattered through the volume, relating to religion and religious establishments, under one head, and shall enter upon this fundamental subject, immediately after giving a short sketch of the Turkish history. We shall then consider the power of the Sultan, and the manner in which it is exercised. This will lead us to the checks, if such they can be called, which have been provided to it. We shall next describe the military and financial resources of the state, and then the manners and customs of the people. We shall conclude with noticing the situation in which the empire at present stands with regard to its neighbours. This arrangement will easily comprehend almost every material particular contained in Mr Thornton's work.

The Turks or Turkomans inhabited an extensive and fertile country bordering on the Caspian. From thence they made several eruptions, at an early period, into the Asiatic provinces of the Roman empire. About the beginning of the thirteenth century, their first great invasion took place under Soliman Shah, whose progress extended to the Euphrates. His son continued those conquests; and his grandson, Osman, laid the foundation of the dynasty which still bears his name. After this period, they wrested the eastern provinces from the empire, one by one, in the course of a century and a half; and in 1453, Mahomet II. took the capital of the Greek emperors, and decided the contest which had indeed long been wholly in favour of the Ottomans. Their power now received constant and rapid increase. They reduced the Greeks to the abject state of vassals, tolerated only in a very private exercise of their religion, and permitted to retain certain civil rights, on payment of annual tribute. Their conquests extended, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, over the Saracen and Greek empires. They had subdued part of Persia, and begun to threaten the dominion of Austria, from which they had already gained a part of Hungary. The alarm of Christendom was great and general. The statesmen of those times describe their solicitude in terms similar to those which are now applied to the common apprehensions of the French power. To what causes the decline of this powerful empire may be a-

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scribed, is a question discussed by Mr Thornton on very limited and superficial grounds. He imputes it entirely to the invention of gunpowder; although he admits that Mahomet II. made use of artillery, and asserts, that the Turkish forces of the present day are only inferior to those who conquered the Eastern empire in their want of good generals, (p. 59. & 56.) But surely their not using gunpowder, and their want of generals, are direct proofs of a much more universal difference between them and their European neighbours, and of a degeneracy in their whole military system. The despotic and purely warlike structure of their government—the intolerant bigotry of their religion—the separation which *this* perpetuated between them and the rest of Europe—the obstacles which *that* opposed to their own progress in civilization,—may safely be stated as the causes of their not only failing to keep pace with the improvements by which they were surrounded, but degenerating, both in their civil and military institutions, from the times when their princes ceased to conquer, and the loss of the talent which alone they ever possessed, left nothing in its place.

I. The religion of the Turks, is Mahometanism in its utmost purity, and in complete preservation from the days of its founder. They believe in one God, and in the divine mission of his prophet. They scrupulously follow, as the rule of their conduct, his precepts contained in the Koran, and his example; together with certain sayings not recorded in that book, but handed down by tradition. The leading maxims thus delivered and religiously observed, are, the maintenance of the faith, the performance of certain outward ceremonies, and hatred of other sects. Their belief is inculcated as so necessary to eternal salvation, and so sure of working this end without the aid of good works, that we need not be surprised to find scarcely one freethinker in the whole of the Turkish population. A few reasoning men, may here and there be found who hold that a life of sanctity, independent of faith, is sufficient. But the church condemns this as the worst of heresies; and those persons must keep their doctrines carefully to themselves. The inducements to hold the faith of their fathers, are so strong among an indolent and sensual people, that any doubt or scruple is likely to be rejected as a present injury. 'Whatever happens during this life is well; God ordains it. If we live, we shall smoke so much tobacco; enjoy so many Circassians; saunter away so many hours in our baths. If death comes to-morrow, we have kept the faith, and shall inevitably sup in paradise,—with better tobacco, fairer women, and more voluptuous baths.' A notion of this sort, once rivetted in the mind, at an early period of society, will account for the horror with

with which every question relative to articles of belief, must afterwards be received. It will account for the exclusive attention of those true believers to the concerns of the present moment, and their carelessness about futurity; for their implicit obedience to the easy injunctions of the Koran; and their steady rejection of all more unpleasant doctrines. Besides holding this faith, they have only to perform the ceremonies of prayer, ablution, and fasting; troublesome, indeed, in some respects, from their frequent recurrence, but far more easy than the restraint of a single wicked inclination, the sacrifice of an interested to a principled view, or the fulfilment of any active duty; and their lives are pure before Allah.

As the object of the founder of this religion was power, he carefully enjoined such an implicit obedience to himself or his successors, as might ensure his divine authority in the state, and such a hatred of unbelievers, as might both keep alive the faith among his followers, and prepare the way for the conquest of foreign nations. The most unresisting and passive obedience to the sacred person of him who is at the head both of the church and state, is inculcated as a primary religious duty. He is the *Zil-ullah*, or shadow of God; the *Padishah-islam*, or emperor of Islamism; the *Imam-ul-musliminn*, * or pontiff of Mussulmans; the *Sultandinn*, or protector of the faith. The title of *Caliph*, was first acquired on the conquest of Egypt; but the prerogatives annexed to it, of sovereign pontiff and depositary of the divine will, as handed down from Mahomet, had all along been exercised by the Turkish emperor. He is further, in his temporal capacity, denominated *Hunkiar*, or the manslayer; it is the name commonly given him, and denotes the absolute power which he has over the life of each of his subjects, in virtue of his divine commission. Whoever submits without resistance to death inflicted by his order, is looked upon as sure of that eternal felicity of the highest order, which belongs to martyrdom. His edicts, always received with religious veneration, are welcomed with peculiar awe, when accompanied by a note under his hand enjoining obedience; and whatever may be the tenor of such a command, the devout Mussulman kisses it as soon as it is presented to him, and piously wipes the dust from it with his cheek. The Pashas who rebel against his authority, are careful to mention his name with holy reverence; and, during the course of their disobedience, scrupulously comply with his orders in every point, except when he requires a resignation of their independence, or some sacrifice injurious to it.

* *Muslim* is the singular. *Mussulman* the dual, and *Musliminn* the plural; it signifies '*resigned to God.*'

When he sends his executioners to despatch a rebellious chieftain, it is not uncommon to see the mere production of the imperial mandate, unaided by any force, silence all opposition, and command obedience from the rebel and his followers. Frequently, indeed, the executioner is stopped in his attempts to gain admittance, and himself put to death. But if he once performs his office, and the insurgent leader falls, there is no instance of his troops revenging his death on the bearer of so sacred a commission, though he comes singly, and trusts himself among an armed multitude of men, the moment before in the act of rebellion. Rycaut affirms, though Mr Thornton calls it an exaggerated picture, that the emperor would be obeyed, were he 'to command whole armies to precipitate themselves from a rock, or build a bridge with piles of their bodies for him to pass rivers, or to kill one another to afford him pastime and pleasure.'

The disciple of Mahomet is educated in a haughty belief of the superiority of his own faith, and a suitable aversion towards all infidels. 'I withdraw my foot and turn away my face,' says the prophet, 'from a society in which the faithful are mixed with the ungodly.'—'The prayers of the infidel, are not prayers, but wanderings.'—'Pray not for those whose death is eternal; and defile not thy feet by passing over the graves of men the enemies of God and his prophet.' The example of the prophet himself, who is recorded to have frequented the society of infidels, is of no avail in counteracting those insolent precepts; and the more other nations have distinguished themselves from the Turk by their progress in wisdom and civility, the more obdurate has been his determination to keep within the pale of his own faith, and to despise their advances. The spirit of proselytism has been shown, not in any attempts to convert by argument: the extension of dominion was the only object of the prophet in proclaiming rewards to such as propagated the faith. Whoever refused the proffered creed, was either to be cut off, or reduced to the state of a vassal paying tribute; and those who die in this holy war, pass immediately into paradise. 'Wash not their bodies,' says the prophet; 'every wound which they bear, will smell sweeter than musk in the day of judgment.' While to Jews and Christians, the alternative of conversion, or tributary vassalage was held out, the idolator was doomed to death. 'Kill and exterminate all worshippers of plurality,' says the Koran; and this command has, not infrequently, been literally complied with. The Persians are, however, held in peculiar abhorrence; and it is deemed more praiseworthy in the sight of God to kill a single worshipper of fire, than seventy infidels of any other religion. The doctrines which we have just now hastily enumerated, are

not, indeed, the only articles of the faith held by Turks; nor are they unqualified, in the theoretical system of that religion, by other tenets of a better kind. But the history of Mahometanism, shows how much more prevalent they have been in practice, than the milder injunctions with which they are mingled; and we shall reserve for a subsequent part of this statement, the trifling modifications with which the manners of the people prove that the worst precepts have been followed.

There are a great variety of minor doctrines, and of popular superstitions, recorded in different parts of the work before us, but not sufficiently important in their effects upon the political state of the empire, to merit a minute analysis. They are rather objects of literary curiosity, than capable of leading to any general views of the subject. We shall merely notice a few of them. The Turks abhor the worship of images, yet think it decent to reverence departed saints, and to visit their tombs. They chiefly invoke the names of Mahomet and his four immediate successors. They conceive idiots to be favoured by heaven, from their apparent insensibility to the evils of life, and their indifference to its enjoyments. They prize relics, or substances which have been in contact with persons of extraordinary piety; and ascribe to them cures and other miracles, similar to those which the Roman Catholic superstitions inculcate. They dread the effect of sorcery, and provide against it by much the same contrivances as are used in the northern countries of Europe and Asia. They carefully observe dreams, and other accidental notions, as ominous of future events; and have a superstitious aversion to all pictures of the human body, believing that angels cannot enter the house where these are. The pilgrimage to Mecca is well known; they believe that it cures all former transgressions, and hold that a man should set about it as soon as his means are double the expense of the journey. Such, at least, is the injunction of the Koran; and only necessary impediments, as blindness, poverty, lameness, &c. are deemed to justify a Mussulman in neglecting this act of devotion. The *black stone* at Mecca is an object of peculiar reverence; it is expected to be endowed with speech at the day of judgement, for the purpose of declaring the names of those who performed the pilgrimage. The *sanjac-sherif*, or standard of Mahomet, being the curtain of the chamber-door of his favourite wife, is kept as the palladium of the empire, upon which no infidel can look with impunity. It is carried to battle with great formality before the sultan or vizier; and its return is hailed by all the Mussulmans of the capital going out to meet it.

The Turkish church is in every particular subordinate to the

civil power: if the Sultan is considered as bound by the law of the Prophet, he is at the same time the chief interpreter of that law. The mufti, or *sheik-islam*, the prelate of orthodoxy, is not an ecclesiastical, but a civil functionary; or, at least, he is only ecclesiastical in so far as the whole law, of which he is the first doctor, derives its origin from the precepts of the Koran and the life of the Prophet. The sultan himself is sovereign pontiff, as well as supreme doctor of law, in virtue of the caliphat. In his name, and by his authority, the priests officiate. These are either *Sheiks*, who preach, and *Riatibs*, who read the Koran in the large mosques; *Imams* (priests *par excellence*), who recite the prayers; or *Muezzins*, who chant, from the towers of the mosques, certain hymns, at stated periods, bearing witness to the Mussulman faith, and summoning the people to prayer. In country parishes, or small villages, the *Imam* generally performs the whole of these functions, and is sometimes *Hagia*, or schoolmaster, besides. All these functionaries of religion are dependent on the civil magistrate, who may displace them of his own authority, and has himself the full right to perform every public duty and ceremony to which a priest is competent. 'The priests,' says Mr Thornton, 'in their habits of life, are not distinguished from other citizens; they live in the same society, and engage in the same pursuits; they sacrifice no comforts, and are compelled to no acts of self-denial; their influence on society is entirely dependent on their reputation for learning and talents, or gravity and moral conduct; they are seldom the professed instructors of youth, much less of men, and by no means are they considered as the directors of conscience; they merely chant aloud the church service, and perform offices, which the master of a family, or the oldest person in company, as frequently, and as consistently, performs as themselves. The Turks know nothing of those expiatory ceremonies which give so much influence to the priesthood; all the practices of their religion can be, and are performed, without the interference of the priests.'—In conformity to this acknowledged principle, individuals, as the proprietors of public hotels, or great houses, appoint any persons they please to act as domestic chanters and priests, or, as we should term them, domestic chaplains. They are merely employed to perform what the master of the family would otherwise do himself.

The *Dervishes* are enthusiasts who consecrate their lives to the service of Allah, and the rigorous observance of the duties inculcated in the Koran. Their institution is foreign to the doctrines of Mahometanism; but no vizier has ever ventured to suppress them. They enjoy great credit with the people from their supposed sanctity, and from the ceremonies which they perform, si-

milar to incantations. There are thirty-two distinct orders of them. Some of them turn round for a great length of time in a sort of wild dance; others howl out the name of Allah till they throw themselves into a kind of fit, and fall down foaming at the mouth. This is enough for the common people, who, seeing something which they do not comprehend, done by people who cry out '*Allah!*' easily believe that Allah is at the bottom of it, and revere it as a manifestation of his influence. The *Emirs* are the descendants of Fatima, Mahomet's favourite daughter, and, as such, highly honoured. They wear a green turban, and are scattered over different parts of the empire. These two orders of men, the dervishes and emirs, are the only classes in the community who possess, as it were, an independent existence,—the only bodies from whom the mandate of the government cannot in a moment take away all marks of distinction, and reduce them to a level with the meanest rabble.

II. So great a portion of the government of Turkey consists of the Sultan's personal authority, and so large a share of this is derived from the influence of religion, that we have already anticipated an important part of the civil institutions of the country, in describing its ecclesiastical rites. We have seen, that abject obedience to the emperor is the favourite doctrine of Mahometanism, inculcated by penal sanctions, as well as the hopes of infinite rewards. We have likewise remarked, that, independent of his will, there exists no clerical order, nor any thing deserving the name of a national priesthood. The *Multoka*, or code of laws, by which the empire is governed, consists of the precepts contained in the Koran, the oral injunctions of Mahomet, and the decisions of the early caliphs and doctors. It relates to every subject of life, and comprehends various matters appertaining to government; but the Sultan is the sole judge of its application to particular cases; and both the Koran and other books relating to the law, are strictly forbidden to be printed. The Turkish civilians hold, that his power is quite unrestrained, except where religion is concerned; and the casuists ascribe to him a character of holiness, which no immorality can tarnish. According to them, he may kill *fourteen* persons every day, without assigning any reason; and they conceive that he acts, in such cases, by a sort of divine impulse, which must not be closely scrutinized. He is the proprietor of, and heir to, all real property, except what has been destined to pious uses,—though custom restrains him in the exercise of this right, where there are natural heirs, and where the person last seised was not a servant of the crown. He is the immediate fountain of all honour; and, without his appointment, there is no dignity or rank acquired by service, or transmitted by inheritance.

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It is the maxim of the Turkish law, that a female cannot hold the sceptre; and, upon the death or deposition of a Sultan, though effected by the most violent insurrection, another member of the same family is uniformly chosen to succeed him. The younger brothers of the reigning monarch are kept in a state of confinement, with the jealousy which characterizes all Eastern courts. The education of the seraglio is such as best fits a man to neglect every important concern; to pursue a life of indolent voluptuousness; and to be governed by his passions and caprices, while he resigns to a minister the care of ruling his empire.

Though every thing depends on the will of the Sultan, it is his constant principle to act by deputy. He never appears himself by any act of interference. His officers are created and removed, by a word, or a nod. They are entirely submissive to his authority;—they are accountable to him for every thing which they or the people may do;—they stand between him and the people, whenever he may give discontent. Of these, the *Vizir Azem*, or Grand Vizir, is the first. He is the depositary of the Sultan's whole power, so long as his master does not chuse to interfere, and is, in the first instance, responsible both to him and to the people; that is to say, when any thing goes wrong in public affairs, either the Sultan or the people are in the practice of taking revenge on the Grand Vizir. He presides in the *divan*, or great council of the ministers, where the Sultan either is, or is supposed to assist, concealed by a curtain, and taking no active share in the deliberations. Formerly this council used only to sanction the proceedings of the Vizir, without in any degree limiting his influence, and sharing in his responsibility. But we are informed by Mr Thornton, that soon after the close of the last Russian war, three ministers leagued together to check the power of the Grand Vizir, and succeeded in introducing a change of system, which gives the divan a substantive share in the government along with that minister himself. We confess that it is somewhat difficult to comprehend how such a control can exist, when the Grand Vizir retains his place of the Sultan's deputy in the executive government, unless we suppose that the Sultan prefers the wisdom and responsibility of several ministers to that of one. The number of the Vizirs composing the divan varies. The two *Cazy-Askers*, or chief judges of Romelia and Anatolia; the *Capudan-pasha*, or high-admiral; the treasurer; the chief of the war and foreign department; the officer who affixes the Sultan's cypher to acts; and the grand purveyor, are generally members of this council. The frequent changes that take place in these departments do not at all affect the details of public business. The inferior officers, who are numerous and

very expert in their functions, remain generally the same, and carry on the work of the government undisturbed, while their superiors are visiting the seven towers, or the islands, or losing their heads, or are torn in pieces by the soldiery or the multitude. The failings which our author admits must be imputed to the character of the Turkish ministers, are not, we fear, unknown in the divans of other nations. Certainly it would ill become *us*, at the present moment, to express any contempt for a people governed by men, 'with whom the preservation of their own authority is paramount to every consideration, and with whom it is useless to urge the interest of the empire, if their personal advantage or safety be endangered by the measure.'

The government of the provinces is entrusted to lieutenants, appointed by the Sultan, and removeable at his pleasure. The greater provinces, comprehending several subdivisions, are governed by *begler-begs*, or *beyler-beys*, a title equivalent to 'prince of princes.' The lesser provinces, either included as subdivisions under those governments, or forming separate provinces, or single towns, are administered by governors, with the titles of *Pasha*, *Bey*, or *Aga*. Pasha is a general appellation for governor; but seems chiefly applicable to provinces of a certain extent. Bey is applied to smaller principalities; and Aga is a military governor, frequently of a single town. We speak with a certain want of precision on this subject; for nothing can be more confused than Mr Thornton's account. In the same page, we are told that 'the belerbeys exert a superior jurisdiction over the governments administered by the *pashas*, the *beys*, and the *sanjacs*;'—'that these governments are called *pashaliks*, *musselimliks*, *vaivadaliks*, and *agaliks*;'—'that the chief governor has no authority over those inferior officers in his own district;'—'that next to the Grand Vizir ranks a pasha of three tails,—then a pasha of two tails,—then a bey, who has only one tail,—and, lastly, the aga, who has only a sanjak or standard;' so that the last statement (which is in a note) omits all mention of the belerbey, whom the text placed first; and calls *sanjak* a standard, which the text denominated a governor. * On turning to Rycaut, from whom this page is apparently taken, we find *sangiack* used for smaller *province*, or subdivision of the beglerbeglik; and *sangiackbeg*, for the governor of the subdivision; (a nomenclature adopted by Mr Thornton also in another part of his book, p. 162.) We find, also, no distinction made between a horse tail and a standard; and *beglerbeg* and *pasha* are used indiscriminately for the

* P. 122.—The difference of spelling is evidently a mistake; *Sanjac* is used for standard in p. 274.

governors of large provinces; though pasha only, and not beylerbey, is applied to the governors of separate territories or towers, larger than those governed by beys or agas; (Rycaut, chap. xii.) Indeed, it is the frequent misfortune of Mr Thornton's readers, to find themselves left in confusion and uncertainty, by his vague, and often contradictory statements. There generally is no such thing as getting at a fixed opinion, or making out a clear point, from a perusal of this book.

All these offices are conferred for money. The value of each is accurately stated in a book at the seraglio; and, at the expiration of the first year, the payment must be renewed; otherwise a successor is found who will give the price. Besides paying so much to the Sultan, presents must be constantly made to court favourites, if the pasha (we use the term generically) would retain his place; and if those presents with the tribute come regularly to the Porte, no inquiries are made into the means by which the money was raised, or the conduct of the governor in any other respect. When a pasha can establish his independence by his wealth or the number of his troops, he rebels; that is to say, he sends no remittances to the Porte; and, if the distance is too great, or the Sultan's power too small to subdue him by force, a sort of contest in cunning arises between the Sultan and him, the former trying to assassinate, the latter to kill the assassin. It is not uncommon for this feeble power to send an executioner, with orders, if he should fail in the main object of his mission, to heap honours on the rebellious chief,—that appearances may be saved, a chance of further obedience and tribute obtained, and punishment deferred to a fitter season.

III. We shall now shortly consider what have been represented as the checks to the absolute power which we have just described. The *Ulema*, or body of the law and the religious institutions or opinions of the country, are commonly viewed in this light. The *Ulema* (or learned men), in its more extensive signification, comprehends all the lawyers and priests of the empire; but, in its ordinary sense, it is restricted to signify, the jurisconsults, or *muftis*, and judges, and *cadis*; that is, the persons skilled in the law, and those appointed to administer it. Every thing relating to this point is confusion in Mr Thornton; and we subjoin some passages, occurring within the bounds of a *few* pages, to show how little he or his compiler have been at the pains of forming distinct notions of their subject. 'The *Ulema*, the perpetual and hereditary guardians of the religion and laws of the empire.' p. 100. 'The order is divided into three distinct classes, comprehending indeed the ministers of religion, but distinguishing them from the *foukahha*, or jurisconsults, who are again subdivided into *muftis*, or doctors of law; and *cadis*, or mi-

nisters of justice.' p. 101. 'This dignity (of *Ulema*) is perpetual and hereditary, not in individuals, but in the order.' note to p. 101. 'Their property is hereditary in their families, and is not liable to arbitrary confiscations.' p. 101. 'About the end of the seventeenth century, they were made removeable at pleasure, like all other functionaries.' note to p. 101. 'The Ulema used formerly to admit no one into their order who was not recommended by some extraordinary merit; but now the Sultan creates Ulema at his pleasure.' p. 102. 'The children of *Mollas*' (judges of great towns) 'are admitted with the consent of the *Sheik-Islam* (or chief mufti); but it requires an express order of the sovereign to admit any other children.' p. 102. 'The functions of the Ulema are perfectly distinct and unconnected with those of the *imams*, or immediate ministers of religion. These do not even belong to the order of the Ulema, in the restricted meaning and general acceptation of the word.' p. 103. 'The mufti is the chief minister of the legal, judicial, and religious power.' p. 94. 'An ancient prejudice, founded on the respect due to religion and its ministers, protects individuals of the order of the Ulema from judicial inflictions entailing infamy or dishonour.' p. 106. In p. 107, it is twice stated, that the Ulema owe their appointment, individually, as well as their continuance in office, to the Sultan alone. 'The Ulema are wholly unconnected with the ecclesiastical order.' p. 112.

Such being Mr Thornton's various statements, we shall probably be excused, if we have failed to catch his meaning; for indeed he seems not to know it himself. But one thing appears clear, that whatever influence this body possesses, must be exerted without giving umbrage to the sovereign, who can remove every offending member, and destroy the mufti himself. The reputation which the mufti has for learning, and the high honours with which he is treated, both by the Sultan and his court, give his opinion great weight. He is consulted on all occasions of importance; but if he gives an opinion (or *fetiva*, which he does in writing) contrary to the sovereign's inclination, he is without scruple dismissed, and a more complying counsellor is found to take office under the virtual pledge.

The administration of justice, by the members of the Ulema, whom the Sultan chooses for this purpose, is worse than any thing which the subjects of a regular government can imagine. It is strange to find Mr Thornton assert, in general, that justice is equally administered in suits where both parties are Turks; and fill a whole chapter with proofs, that the Turkish judges are the most cruel and venal persons in the world. If the trade of a false witness is one of the most flourishing in Turkey,—if the judge is

compelled to decide according to oral testimony, unless when he can, by cross-examination, convict a witness, on the spot, of perjury,—if a person so convicted is scarcely liable to any punishment,—if, moreover, in all their decisions respecting the rights of Jews and Christians, bribery alone sways the Turkish judges;—is it conceivable that the causes between Turks can be determined equitably? The account given by our author, of the summary mode in which both civil and criminal cases are decided, is equally at variance with his general panegyric; and the inference to be drawn from his whole statement is, that no such thing as regular justice can be said to exist in the Turkish dominions.

What check, then, it may be asked, is furnished by the institutions of this empire to the power of the Sultan? There is evidently but one—the dread of popular insurrection. Every thing depends for its existence on the nod of the prince; and he may just push his caprices as far as he thinks the degraded state of his subjects will permit him. He owes to their superstitions, immediately, the greater part of his influence—ultimately, the whole of it. He has chiefly to beware lest those superstitions are not the cause of some sudden commotion against his person, or that of his minister. He has also to guard against any conduct so generally hurtful to his people, and so plainly, so instantly felt by them, as to overcome the sense of religious awe with which they have been accustomed to view his government. Thus he must avoid any violent interference with religious observances and the established customs of the country, which are all more or less connected with superstitious feelings. He must also be ready to vary his conduct when he perceives symptoms of serious commotions being excited by it. The most successful mode of showing discontent at Constantinople is said to be setting the town on fire in different places. When the Sultan learns that one of these fires is no sooner extinguished than another breaks out, he bethinks him of his situation, and begins to inquire into the grievances complained of. As for the inhabitants of the provinces, they may complain indeed of their pasha, by sundry remonstrances to the Porte; but without presents, so large as to exceed those which he sends in his *defence*, the application is altogether vain. It may easily be imagined, that the pasha is less exposed to insurrection than the Sultan; and his government is in proportion more severe.

IV. When the Turks overran the provinces of the Greek empire, they divided the lands in a manner analogous to that pursued by the northern nations under similar circumstances. The general, after seizing a certain portion, assigned the rest to his officers and men, upon condition that they should attend him in all future wars as soon as required. The principal difference be-

tween this and the feudal tenures of the north was, that all the proprietors held immediately of the general or sultan—and no one owed service to any intermediate chief. Such of the former infidel proprietors as were not extirpated during the conquest, were permitted to remain as cultivators, or tributary proprietors of the lands not exhausted by the first partition. The Mussulmans alone were allowed to serve in war. Those conquered Mussulmans who preferred a life of peace, were classed with the infidel tributaries, and paid a capitation tax as commutation for their military services. This class, whether infidels or Mussulmans, are called *Rayahs;* but that appellation is more commonly restricted to the infidel tributaries, who are likewise denominated *Zimmys*, while the Mussulman tributaries are called *Beledis*. The Mussulman Rayahs form the national; the feudal proprietors form the feudal militia. All Mussulman inhabitants capable of bearing arms, are bound to join the Pasha's standard; but the former class are a sort of volunteers, and soon return home; the latter serve, and furnish a contingent of troops, from the obligations of their charter, and are somewhat more to be depended upon. They are either *Zäims* or *Timariots*, according as they possess a *Zäimet*, or a *Timar*; the former containing 500 acres, or upwards, the latter from 300 to 500.* In the reign of Soliman I., there were 3192 Zäims, and 50,160 Timars, which furnished 150,000 men to the militia; Olivier reckons about 60,000, and Mr Eton 132,000. Whatever the number may now be, they are little adapted to the modern practice of warfare. They remain in the field only till they obtain a certificate, which cannot be refused after the campaign has lasted six months. They then, at the beginning of winter, desert, or rather, march off in large bodies, as happened when they were serving in Syria last war. Those proprietors of feudal lands, who do not furnish a contingent, must pay, in the European provinces, one year's revenue; in the Asiatic two. This, together with the capitation tax, and the commutation money of the *Beledis*, formed the bulk of the Turkish revenue, as the militia supplied the army, by which the Ottoman conquests were made. The changes which have, in the course of time, been made in both, are merely additions to those original branches of the military and financial system.

About the middle of the fourteenth century, the body of Janizaries was formed; at that time, 12,000 in number. They now amount to about 40,000,† and unite the functions of police of-

* This is Mr Thornton's account.—We have reason to believe, that he is wrong in the extent which he assigns to those divisions.

† This is much less than the estimates of former authors; but we are convinced of its accuracy. Mr T. judiciously grounds it on the amount of the pay.

ficers with the military profession. They have peculiar privileges—are judged only by their own officers—receive punishment in the most private manner, to preserve the honour of the corps—and are the especial instruments of the Sultan and his ministers in government, as well as his best regular troops. They were formerly trained to the service with the greatest care, and selected from the finest young men in the country. But their discipline has gradually relaxed; and they no longer deserve even a small part of the fame which they anciently possessed. It is the opinion of good judges, however, that a little care from European officers, might still restore the greater part of their merits as an army. Besides the effective force of the Janizaries, a vast number of persons are nominally enrolled in the corps, for the sake of avoiding the capitation tax. The *topgis* or gunners, are said to be 30,000 in number, distributed over different parts of the empire. This includes those employed in the cannon founderies, and as artificers. There are 15,000 very good cavalry, on the regular establishment; besides corps of *gebegis* or armourers, and *sakkas* or water-carriers; and the pashas levy bodies of pioneers, miners, &c. during war, or to assist the other forces on their march through the provinces. It is impossible to estimate the numbers of the Turkish army with tolerable precision. There is every reason to believe, that the government itself is in possession of no accurate enumeration of the militia; and the calculation of the whole force, published by Marsigli a century ago, is said to be the only one that can be relied on. He estimated the regulars (or *Capiculy*) at about 58,000 infantry, including Janizaries, topgis, sakkas, &c. and 15,200 cavalry; and the militia (or *Toprakli*) at about 126,000. Of the regulars, above 21,000 Janizaries were required for garrisons and other ordinary services; and of the militia, about a sixth might be deducted for false returns: so that the effective disposable force, militia and regulars, could not exceed 160,000 men. The relaxation of provincial government having greatly increased since that time, the Porte generally expects the levies of militia which it makes, to fall short, by one half, of the numbers ordered.

The army, thus raised, is extremely deficient in discipline, though by no means wanting in courage. The officers understand but little of the tactics required to oppose a skilful enemy; and they pursue certain old rules for disposing their troops, handed down from their forefathers, incapable of application to the present state of military affairs, and indeed always adhered to, whatever movements might be made to oppose them. Where a few companies are required to perform any duty, and no preconcerted schemes are necessary, the Turkish troops frequently do

excellent service. The cavalry will follow up a successful attack; and their execution is then dreadful. The infantry, posted in forts, will defend them with admirable perseverance, and will act well as light troops behind walls or other fences. But the danger to which they are exposed must be immediate, and they must be employed when their courage is up;—they cannot be relied on for the regular duties of a besieging garrison, nor will they rally after being broken. In short they are an undisciplined soldiery—possessed of sufficient strength and agility—abounding in individual courage and fanaticism—not unskilful in the management of horses and arms—capable of performing services where no great combination or foresight is required—and likely to assist more regular forces, or even to oppose some resistance themselves to an invading army, however little may be expected from them in carrying on the war abroad. The same want of discipline prevails in their navy, with a much greater want of skill. They have several very beautiful ships, chiefly built by foreigners, but wretchedly manned. There are about fifteen sail of the line, and as many frigates. Mr Thornton asserts, that, in navigating small craft, the Turks are equally skilful with the Greeks, and that both are equally unfit to manage larger vessels. This is an opinion quite contrary to the common belief upon the subject. The Greeks are understood to be greatly superior in seamanship. Mr Thornton admits, that they form the bulk of the crews of the Turkish men of war; and, from their expertness in managing coasting vessels, they might certainly be trained, without difficulty, to make tolerable seamen.

The territorial arrangements adopted by the Turks during their conquests, laid the foundation of their financial, as well as of their military system; but the additions afterwards made to the former, have been much less considerable. The revenues consist of two great branches, the *Miri*, or public income; and the *Hazni*, or sultan's private treasure. Neither Mr Thornton, nor any other writer, has explained to us in what manner this separation is kept up; and how a prince so absolute as the Grand Signor, is prevented, by any consideration, except that of his own interest as connected with that of the empire, or compliance with custom in order to avoid dangerous commotions, from viewing the whole treasury as *Hazni*. In practice, however, the branches are kept distinct. The *Miri*, which is under the administration of the *Defterdar Effendi*, or high treasurer, is derived from the *havatch*, or capitation tax, paid by the rayahs; varying in different parts of the empire, and levied differently on persons according to their fortunes; but, generally speaking, of three classes, ten, six, and three piastres, according to law:—The

land-tax, being a tenth of the produce all over the empire; estimated in the treasury books at twenty millions Sterling; but detained, for the most part, in the provinces, to defray the public expenses:—A tax on the produce of industry in professions, paid by the rayahs, and estimated at a fourth of their clear gains, but unequally and arbitrarily levied:—Customs on imports and exports, chiefly farmed, and collected with mildness, amounting to 3 *per cent.* for Frank merchants, and 5 for natives:—Monopoly of the greater part of the corn consumed in Constantinople, enforced with peculiar strictness, and to the rigorous prevention of all private forestalling; *—the forfeitures of Zäims and Timariots who neglect their military services;—the inheritance of all persons in public employments, except the Ulema,—and of all persons whatsoever dying intestate;—mines and coinage—tribute from Moldavia and Wallachia—contributions in kind for the service of the navy. The total amount of these branches of income cannot be gathered with any degree of accuracy from the information before us. Our author, after Cantemir, states it at 3,375,000*l.* Sterling; Mr Eton, the fanciful nature of whose details he fully exposes, puts it at 4,494,250*l.* This is expended in paying the regular troops and such of the officers as do not pay themselves by extortions—repairing the forts and works—and providing those articles for the navy which the empire does not furnish. The *Hazni* or sultan's treasure, under the care of the second black eunuch, is derived from the imperial domains—presents from his servants—contributions, in kind, of whatever the empire produces fit for his use—and the sale of offices of state, as well as the annual fees paid on renewing the appointments. An attempt has lately been made to introduce an excise; but it has given rise to great discontents, like all innovations in this despotic empire; and, if not already abandoned, will probably soon be given up. The numberless extortions practised by officers of all denominations, are submitted to, because enforced by military execution; and they furnish a large portion of most of the branches of revenue which we have hastily enumerated, besides defraying the expense of maintaining those officers and their attendants.

V. The length to which this article has already extended, prevents us from detailing, with equal minuteness, the particulars most deserving of notice, in the manners and character of the Turks. We have already, indeed, anticipated, in treating of their religion, a considerable portion of this section. Men believing

* The most fertile provinces are obliged to deliver grain to the government, at low prices; and all the grain brought by others, is sold at prices, and in quantities, fixed by government.

firmly in predestination, and taught to regard certain useless ceremonies, when accompanied by the involuntary, and to them, from their ignorance, necessary act of faith, as sufficient to secure eternal happiness after death, are not likely to regulate their lives by the moral precepts which their religion superadds to those fundamental injunctions. The violent and capricious nature of the government, and the corrupt administration of justice which we have been contemplating, must increase, instead of correcting, the debasement of their character. It is a matter of surprise, indeed, to find any good qualities in this people; and almost all authors seem agreed, in ascribing to them a quick sense of insult, hospitality to strangers, and gratitude for past favours. Their natural talents seem to be less questioned, the more our intercourse with them is extended; but while a contempt for the enlightened nations which surround them, continues a principle of their religion, we can expect nothing short of a violent change in their government, to promote the cultivation of their abilities. In their behaviour, they are graceful, sedate, and courteous; possessing all those qualities which some people in civilized nations prize as the perfection of good manners. Their fondness for warm-baths, smoking, story-telling, sights of dancing and wrestling, the pleasures of the *harem*, and whatever else contributes to animal gratification without a considerable encroachment upon their habitual indolence, is too well known, to require description; the pleasures of intoxication, whether by wine or opium, are not so generally indulged in. The following passage, descriptive of the contrast which the Turkish manners exhibit to our own, in the most minute particulars, is so much better than Mr Thornton's usual style of writing, that we are tempted to believe he has obtained it from some former author.

'Every traveller must have noticed, (though Dumont appears to be the first who has recorded the observation), that the Turkish usages contrast in a singular manner with our own. This dissimilitude, which pervades the whole of their habits, is so general, even in things of apparent insignificance, as almost to indicate design rather than accident. The whole exterior of the Oriental is different from ours. The European stands firm and erect, his head drawn back, his chest protruded, the point of the foot turned outwards, and the knees straight. The attitude of the Turk is less remote from nature, and in each of these respects approaches nearer to the models which the ancient statuaries appear to have copied. Their robes are large and loose, entirely concealing the contour of the human form, incumbering motion, and ill adapted to manly exercise. Our close and short dresses, calculated for promptitude of action, appear in their eyes to be wanting both in dignity and modesty. They reverence the beard as the symbol of man-

hood, and the token of independence; but they practise depilation of the body from motives of cleanliness. In performing their devotions, or on entering a dwelling, they take off their shoes. In inviting a person to approach them, they use what with us is considered as a repulsive motion of the hand. In writing, they trace the lines from right to left. The master of a house does the honours of his table by serving himself first from the dish: he drinks without noticing the company, and they wish him health when he has finished his draught. They lye down to sleep in their clothes: they affect a grave and phlegmatic exterior: their amusements are all of the tranquil kind: they confound with folly the noisy expression of gayety: their utterance is slow and deliberate: they even feel satisfaction in silence: they attach the idea of majesty to slowness of motion: they pass in repose all the moments of their life which are not occupied in serious business: they retire early to rest; and they rise before the sun.' p. 304, 305.

It remains to subjoin, in the *last* place, a few reflections suggested by the situation in which this feeble and extensive empire stands with respect to its more formidable neighbours.

The doctrine, which some advocates of Russia have maintained, that the seizure of Turkey, and the restoration of the Greek empire, would be an act of strict justice towards the Greeks, and a fair punishment of the Ottomans—is a great deal too absurd to require any discussion. The Turks have the very same right to their dominions, which the Russians themselves have to theirs—or which the descendants of the northern nations have to the greater part of Europe. Nor does it appear, from the best accounts which we have of the Greeks, that their character is such as to promise a more deserving race of subjects to the power that should drive the Turks into Asia. Whatever change it may be deemed adviseable to make in the Ottoman empire, must limit itself to the improvement of all classes of the inhabitants, by the equal preservation of their rights, and the amelioration of their political institutions. If any change could be effected in the government, which should secure the regular administration of justice, the establishment of an effective police, and the receipt of the public income, without the extortions of the provincial governors; some revolutionary struggles, or even the introduction of foreign assistance, does not seem too great a price to pay for it. Whatever foreign nation should obtain the ascendant in the affairs of this empire, (and it is evident that some one must speedily do so), would probably begin by improving the army,—the first step towards restoring that regular government which Turkey itself once possessed. The intercourse with a powerful ally, would certainly tend to weaken the hatred or contempt in which infidels and their institutions

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are at present held. Nor can it be doubted, that, in every point of view, by their power, their abilities, their manners, and their activity, the French are peculiarly well adapted to work the changes in question. Indeed, were it not for the dangerous consequences of such an event to our own country, we should be justified in wishing well to the progress of the Turks in their new alliance. Certainly, between the Russians and the French, in so far as regards Turkey, there can be no room for hesitating. But who can view, without dismay, the addition of all the coasts and forests of Greece, to the already enormous maritime resources of France in the Mediterranean? Our desire for the improvement of the Turks, must be vehement indeed, if it can lead us to deprecate their having Russian instructors.

But, unhappily, the influence of France in the affairs of the Porte, is no longer a matter of speculation. The ascendant which Russia might have gained in them, had she reserved herself for better opportunities, is now sacrificed to her premature efforts in the cause of the German powers. The subjugation of Austria, and the destruction of Prussia, have brought France and Russia together. Instead of fighting for Germany, or even for Turkey, they are now contending for Petersburgh: and this fourth continental war will probably terminate in a peace as disastrous for Russia, both in the Baltic and the Levant, as the last was for Austria, in Germany and in Italy. These are the dreadful effects of the fourth coalition: and yet this infatuated nation still talks with enthusiasm, of opposing the common enemy by alliances, and subsidies, and expeditions;—receives the news of negotiation and of the defeat of its allies with equal dismay;—and labours incessantly, not to join in any projects of peace—but to increase the number of its enemies;—too happy, if it can only make out a quarrel with its kindred in America, and its brethren in Ireland!

Art. II. *A Tour through Holland along the Right and Left Banks of the Rhine, to the South of Germany, in the Summer and Autumn of* 1806. By Sir John Carr, of the Honourable Society of the Middle Temple; Author of the Stranger in Ireland; a Northern Summer, &c. &c. 4to.—pp. 484. *Twenty Engravings and a Map.* London. Phillips. 1807.

Our readers are acquainted with this author's way of writing books. He goes abroad about the end of summer; visits some country in a hasty and superficial manner; returns with his notes; and, by the help of Shakespeare for quotations, Joe Miller

for anecdotes, and some of the travelling guides for trifling information; he makes a quarto volume, which is in the shops at the proper period of the ensuing book-season. From his last excursion, he brought indeed something more than his memorandums; for the Duke of Bedford (to whom the book now before us is dedicated) made a knight of him; '*and he is now Sir John Carr.*' But his honours, we are sorry to say, have been accompanied by no improvement in his qualifications as an author. On the contrary, this new work is a great deal emptier than any of his former productions, and abounds in still more frequent specimens of the defective taste which we have already pointed out in them. It is, at the same time, as little liable to censure for more serious defects, as his other works. He seems to be an amiable, inoffensive, extremely good-natured man, who has no more right to publish quartos than to govern empires. As, however, he probably differs from us upon this subject, we may expect to see a great number of new volumes, manufactured by him in the same way; and we shall do our endeavour to improve their quality, by fairly pointing out some of the faults so conspicuous in the present sample. A person of very moderate talents, and information scarcely proportioned to these, who is resolved every year to visit some foreign country, and publish what he may collect from his personal observation, cannot indeed be expected to furnish profound or elaborate works; but it will be his own fault, if he does not contribute a valuable portion of information, in times when every thing beyond seas is full of change, and every change is interesting. Let even such a traveller only resolve to be plain, to put a great number of questions wherever he has an opportunity, and give us the answers accurately; let him tell us unaffectedly what he saw and heard; and he will render a considerable service to letters, while he is amusing himself with his journeys, and profiting by his publications.

'The public,' says our author, 'shall be my confessor;' and he makes a clear breast, by telling us, that, having no hopes of peace, he, last summer, during the negotiations, resolved to visit Holland; and for this purpose, 'became an American, and, by an act of temporary adoption, fixed upon Baltimore as the place of his nativity.' There is something rather prepossessing, in the frankness with which he makes another confession,—that he repents not having thrown his different *Tours* into the form of letters, whereby he might have rendered critics more indulgent. But, in truth, the volume before us would have made a sorry collection of epistles, even if the perusal had been confined to those who received them through the post-office.

The Dutch captain imposed upon him, and took thirty-six pas-

sengers on board. They had a tedious voyage; during which the captain prayed a great deal with his family, in a small hole of a kitchen, and chastised his son for being idle at his book. 'I restored our captain to good humour,' says Sir J. Carr, 'by relating to him an anecdote of a Dutch sailor;'—which proves to be the hacknied story of a sailor challenging another to stand with his head on the truck, and the other falling upon the deck in making the attempt, crying,' Can *you* do that?' (p. 9.) The captain had some dogs on board, 'and he was not a little amused at 'my telling him that,' &c.; which introduces a story of a Newfoundland dog behaving well during an action at sea.' (p. 9.) Such is this *lively* traveller's way of stringing together anecdotes, as he calls them. We speak within compass, when we say that a third of the book is made up of stories forced in from all quarters, without any pretensions to interest, or wit, or lively narrative, and, for the most part, having as little connexion with the journey of our author, as with any other journey, or indeed any thing else. But they figure in the table of contents, and at the tops of pages, as 'anecdote' of this or that person; which, we suppose, is found to answer, when people are turning over the leaves of a book in a shop, and making up their minds whether they shall purchase or not. After several more anecdotes, and a quotation from 'our Hudibrastic Butler,' and a saying of some 'whimsicality' of the Duke of Alva, our traveller lands at Rotterdam.

Here, instead of the information which would have been most interesting and very easily procured, respecting the present state of trade, and the effects of the revolution and the war, * we have not even a tolerable description of the exterior appearance of the town. But anecdote upon anecdote crowds every page. In his rage for collecting stories, our author falls into frequent scrapes,—believing every thing he hears, so it be but a 'story.' How could he be so thoughtless as to credit the tale in p. 31, of king Louis having already, that is, within two months of his accession, effected retrenchments, in the expenditure of the naval department, to the amount of two millions Sterling a year? Perhaps he will quote this as a proof that it is not easy for him to follow our advice, and collect substantial information. But we find him just as ready to be duped in his own department of anecdote. He knew a man in England (p. 21) 'so fond of expensive building, and who resided very far from the capital, that

* He tells us, indeed, that the exchanges, both here and at Amsterdam, were quite crowded when he saw them; but this proves little or nothing.

he had many parcels filled with bricks and stones sent down to his workmen by the mail coach!!!' The griffin gun at Ehrenbreitstein used to carry a shot of a hundred and eighty pounds weight *sixteen miles*, (p. 422.) There are *several thousands* of hogsheads of wine in the cellars at Johannisberg, (p. 439.) The building of the stadthouse at Amsterdam cost two millions Sterling, (p. 250.) Alkmaar receives from North Holland three hundred thousand pounds of cheese every week, (p. 313.) If a man is resolved to tell us every story which he believes, he should not so easily credit all he hears. Such blunders as these partly arise from want of attention; but they are imputable, in a considerable degree, to Sir John Carr's more than common want of information upon very ordinary subjects. We do not at all require that every man who writes a book of travels in Holland should know the Dutch language; though, certainly, to translate *lust* (pleasure) by *hope*, and to say that the language of *Holland* is generally divided into *High* and Low Dutch, (p. 83.), looks liker ignorance of his own tongue, than of Dutch, (p. 16.) But we may be excused for suggesting that French is of substantial use to a traveller; and with that language our author has not greatly improved his acquaintance since we gave him a hint upon the subject in noticing his Northern Tour. One who is so fond of quoting scraps of Latin, should not suppose that

'*Discite justitiam moniti,*
Et non temnere Divos,'

are 'two lines from Virgil,' because he may have seen them written in that way under a Dutch bronze, (p. 251.) It is better not to talk of the economy of plants at all, than to say that the leaves of the 'trees over the Dutch canals inhale the mephitic air, and breathe it out again with refreshing purity;' (p. 18.) The Dutch spitting-pots used by smokers, he thinks proper to call 'like the kava bowl of the South-sea Islanders' (p. 72.), which is used (as every body should know who takes the trouble to speak of it), not for spitting in, but for making the fermented liquor by that means. In order to prove that 'the literary glory of the country has not spread upon the demise of Erasmus, Grotius and Boerhaave,' he tells us that some names which he enumerates are not known out of Holland; and that 'we have heard but faintly of Huygens, Graveszande, and Vandoveron in physic; of Voet in jurisprudence; and Burman and Gronovius in the belles lettres;' (p. 179.) It happens that Huygens and Gronovius flourished before and during the time of Boerhaave; and we presume both of those names, as well as that of Voet, have been more than 'faintly heard of' by every man of ordinary information. Indeed, before the conclusion of

his work, even Sir J. Carr seems to have become acquainted with Gronovius; for he describes him (p. 330.) as one of those illustrious sages, who 'bestowed immortal celebrity' upon Utrecht; adding, lest he should ever be in the right, that Grævius was his pupil, and one of the most profound writers in the middle of the sixteenth century!

From Rotterdam our author proceeded by the canal to the Hague through Delft. We cannot stop to notice the stale anecdotes of Grotius, Barnevelt, and others, which he introduces by the way, and never fails to call either *interesting* or *noble*. We shall, as a very fair specimen of the few pieces of description which his rage for gossipping allows him to give, extract what he says of the journey by water between Delft and the Hague.

'In Holland, every traveller naturally becomes amphibious: the constant contemplation of so much water quickly engenders all the inclinations of a web-footed animal, and he soon feels out of his proper element when out of the canal. Right merrily did I follow my commissary and his wheelbarrow with my baggage through the whole town, until I reached the Hague gate, when my favourite conveyance, the treckschuyt, was ready to start. The boat bell rung; all the party got on board; and away we glided, passing on each side of us the most lovely *close* scenery. Instead of seeing, as had been represented to me in England, a dull monotonous scene of green canals, stunted willows, and, from a solitary house or two, *foggy* merchants stupidly gazing in fixed attention upon *frog* water, the canal was enlivened with boats of pleasure and traffic continually passing and repassing; the noble level road on the right, broad enough to admit four or five carriages abreast, thickly planted with rows of fine elms; the number of curricles and carriages, and horses, driving close to the margin of the water; the fine woods, beautiful gardens, country houses, not two of which were similar; the eccentricity of the little summer temples hanging over the edges of the canal; the occasional views of rich pasture land, seen as I saw them, under a rich, warm sky, formed a *tout-ensemble* as delightful as it was novel, and very intelligibly expressed our approach to the residence of sovereignty. The single ride from Delft to the Hague would alone have repaid the trouble and occasional anxiety I experienced in getting into, and afterwards out of the country.

'All the principal country-houses have a wooden letter-box standing upon the margin of the canal, into which one of the boatmen, upon the treckschuyt being steered close to the adjoining bank, without stopping, drops the letters and parcels directed to the family residing there. In no part of the continent is social intercourse and communication so frequent, cheap, and certain.

'For keeping the dams and roads in repair, turnpikes are established at proper distances, and the care of their repair is confided to directors, who are always gentlemen of high respectability, and receive a fixed

salary for their services. The principal roads are kept in good condition; and, on account of the flatness of the country, are very easy for the horses: but the by-roads are intolerably bad.' p. 111–12.

The pleasures of the scene, he did not however greatly enjoy; for there were three charming Dutch young ladies in the steerage, who conversed about Shakespeare and Milton, and 'talked, sung and laughed, with so much talent, taste and vivacity,' that he was better employed than in looking at landscapes.

Our author's arrival at the Hague, soon after the establishment of the new Constitution, gives him occasion to introduce the published documents of that quiet change, and some account of the reception of the new king. We shall not detain our readers with either of these topics, which are recent enough to be as much known as their subordinate importance deserves; but we must, in justice to Sir John Carr, observe, that he writes upon all subjects of a political nature, if not very profoundly, at least with a degree of liberality, which more elaborate reasoners would do well to imitate; and that he tells truths respecting our enemies which are not the less wholesome, for having been too carefully concealed from the people of this country, by authors who are afraid to give unpleasant information, and politicians who keep up popular delusions, that they may turn them to account. Thus, it is usual to believe, in this country, that the French are detested in Holland, and that their soldiery have deserved this odium by their rapacious and cruel conduct; that the Dutch, retaining for England their ancient friendship, would gladly renew the connexion, so mutually beneficial; and would exert themselves in favour of any attempt which she might make to relieve them from French oppression. We have nothing to do at present with the policy of repeating such attempts; but the assertion that the Dutch would favour them, we venture confidently to deny. If the French are hated in Holland, it is because they are at war with England; and the English are disliked on the very same ground. The blame of not making peace is thrown, by the Dutch, pretty equally upon both the belligerent powers;—but England is most blamed for beginning the present war. The Dutch know too well, that while the Netherlands belong to France, their country must follow the fortunes of the French empire; and, so far from wishing to see us attempt their rescue, they hate us still more for our interference in 1799 than for our *military proceedings* in 1794, though these will not soon be forgotten. As to the notion of the French soldiery having behaved ill in Holland, it is utterly unfounded in fact. The discipline of the army has been kept up there with as much rigour as in any province of France. The French commissioner, or envoy, or general, may have treated the

Dutch constituted authorities with haughtiness, or levied excessive contributions, (which by the way are much exaggerated); but the soldiery have known nothing of the sweets of plunder, nor, indeed, of any thing but the strictest obedience to their immediate superiors; and those, who expect to see a nation rise as one man, in consequence of the gradual and regular increase of their pecuniary burthens, must found their hopes upon histories of human affairs, and views of human nature, which the rest of the world are not in possession of.

Sir John Carr, in substance, confirms these remarks (in which, indeed, a moderate acquaintance with the state of Holland must induce us to acquiesce) by several statements in the course of his tour. When the French troops entered Rotterdam, he says, they were quartered on the inhabitants, and soon conciliated their good opinion by their quiet conduct and orderly deportment. He adds, that he has received the same character of them in other parts of Holland, even from persons to whom they must have been very unwelcome visitors. (p. 14.) He might have said, with equal truth, that the Dutch have, within the memory of the present generation, had experience of four armies of foreigners, three of whom came as friends to protect them from the French; and that they uniformly give the preference to the French army, for quiet and orderly behaviour, over all the other foreign troops whom they have had the misfortune to know any thing about. Our author mentions repeatedly and strongly, the popularity of the new king and his family. 'To this fact' he says 'I pledge myself upon the authority of some of the most respectable and enlightened Dutchmen in different parts of Holland, repeatedly renewed to me.' (p. 31.) The same information has reached us from other quarters; and we can account for it only by considering the frequent changes which have harassed the Dutch government for the last twelve years, and the many good qualities which this new king is said to possess. Odious as monarchy is in Holland, constant fluctuation and uncertainty of government has prepared the people for any revolution which is likely to be the last; and the conduct of the individual, in whose person this hated thing is revived, has been such as to remove many of the prejudices against it. He has made very salutary reforms in the expenditure of the country—placed the public debt on a better foundation—paid great attention to the schools and colleges—shown a decided partiality to Dutchmen in the conduct of the government—declared himself a friend to general amnesty, and to toleration political and religious,—and, in his personal intercourse with his subjects, comported himself after a quiet and civil manner, suited to gain the good will of that sober and sensible people. We think that

Sir John Carr considerably exaggerates the dislike of the Dutch to the Orange Family. That they would make any effort to restore that House, or, indeed, to change their political condition in any respect, we do not at all believe. But, with the exception of the people of Amsterdam, we believe, the exiled family have the silent and unavailing good wishes of a majority of all classes. In this good will, however, there is so little of enthusiasm, that it must daily wear out; and, though it might prepare the joyful reception of the stadtholder, were a turn of affairs unexpectedly to send him back, it will certainly neither cooperate in effecting such a change, nor oppose any obstacle to the growing popularity of the new dynasty, and its final consolidation, if things remain in their present state. These things, as our author has remarked, may not be very palatable to such as think that nothing favourable to an enemy should ever be told. But we are now paying for such miserable, such womanish fears of the truth; and are at length beginning to discover that dangers will not vanish, because we may shut our eyes to them.

Our author's residence at the Hague does not furnish any thing worth abridging or quoting, except perhaps the following passages, which we give merely as exhibiting traits of the national character. Indeed, the first of them cannot be reckoned a tolerable description of the Wood; and is only worth notice, as recording an example of something romantic in a people unusually free from such feelings upon common occasions.

'The day when I visited the Wood was remarkably fine.—This spot, so dear to the Dutch, is nearly two English miles long, about three quarters of a mile broad, and contains a fine display of magnificent oaks growing in native luxuriance. Antony Waterloo made the greatest part of his studies from this spot and its environs. The ground upon which it grows, and the country about it, undulate a little, a circumstance of agreeable novelty; and the whole is a truly delightful walk, more romantic and umbrageous than our Mall of St James's, and surpassed only by the garden of the Thuilleries. This wood has been held sacred with more than pagan piety. War and national want, that seldom spare in their progress, committed no violations here. Although the favourite place of royal recreation, yet, in the fury of the revolution, not a leaf *trembled but in the wind.* Philip II., in the great war with Spain, issued his mandate for preserving it: hostile armies have marched through it without offering it a wound, and the axe of the woodman has never resounded in it. Even children are taught or whipt into veneration for it, so that their mischievous hands never strip it of a bough. Once, however, it is recorded, that at a period of great state necessity, in 1576, their high mightinesses sat in judgement upon its noble growth, and doomed it to fall. The moment their decree was known, the citizens flew to the meeting, remonstrated with a degree of feeling which did

honour to their taste; and upon learning that the object of its doom was to raise a certain sum to assist in replenishing the nearly exhausted coffers of the republic, they immediately entered into a contribution, and presented the amount to the "high and mighty masters" of the sacred grove. It has been asserted by some travellers, that the Dutch treasure this spot more from national pride than feeling, and that they are more disposed to preserve than to enjoy it. To this remark I have only to offer, that I saw a considerable number of equestrian and pedestrian groups, who appeared to relish its shaded roads and sequestered walks with great delight. The royal residence is to the right at the end of the wood. Upon my asking a Dutchman which path led to the "house in the wood," the only appellation by which, in the time of the Stadtholder, it was known, he sharply replied, "I presume you mean the *palace* in the wood." This building is merely fit for the residence of a country gentleman, and has nothing princely about it, except the sentry boxes at the foot of the flight of stairs ascending to the grand entrance.' p. 157–159.

'In Holland, that bee-hive of industry, every available source of service is made use of; so that dogs, and even goats, are not suffered to pick the bone, or eat the bread of idleness. Most of the little wares and merchandizes, and particularly fish, are drawn by the former, who are properly harnessed for the occasion to little carts, whilst the latter are yoked to infantine waggons and curricles, to air and exercise little children in. It is really astonishing to see what weight these animals will draw after them; nothing can exceed their docility; and for their labour, the Hollander, who is remarkable for his humanity to the dumb creation, feeds them well, and lodges them in his house very comfortably. Owing to the great care paid to their dogs, the canine madness seldom appears amongst them. On Sundays they are permitted to refresh and enjoy themselves, and never show any disposition to escape from their lot of industry. In their farms, cows and oxen are always used in draught, and display every appearance of receiving the kindest treatment from their masters. The theatre at the Hague is tastefully arranged, and supplied with a tolerable set of French comedians. The centre box is appropriated for the royal family, and is elegantly fitted up. Before the conversion of the republic into a kingdom, when the government resided in the hands of the Batavian Directory, the ornaments of the box which was allotted to them were very unworthy of the rank of the personages for whose accommodation it was reserved: a piece of paper, on which was written, "Le logis du Directoire Batave," and pasted on the box-door, alone announced the dignity of its destination. The usual national spirit of economy used to display itself in the Dutch theatre, where, to prevent an useless consumption of tallow, whenever the musicians quitted the orchestra, they were bound by contract to extinguish the lights by which they read their music. In many tradesmens' houses at this day in Holland, winter courtships are carried on in the dark, the union of warm love and rigid economy being considered a very laudable conjunction.' p. 176–178.

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From the Hague Sir John proceeded through Leyden to Haerlem, and thence to Amsterdam. During this portion of his tour the rage of anecdote is still upon him, and principally exercised upon the celebrated painters who flourished in these cities. We have long scraps of their lives, taken, as he avows himself, from the *Abregé de la Vie des Peintres*, *Pilkington's Dictionary of Painters*, and 'the elegant and witty D'Israeli.' To all this we only object, because it comes in the place of more appropriate matter, and because there is something peculiarly absurd in a man of activity and enterprize, travelling through foreign countries for the purpose of giving, in a quarto volume, extracts from books well known at home. Even this, however, is better than some of his original speculations, particularly upon the subject of commerce, which he handles after the following fashion.

'A nation can only become rich from trade, when its exports for the use of foreign states is (are) in a greater proportion than its imports for its consumption. An impression has gone forth, that a nation cannot be impoverished, if the importation of foreign merchandize be purchased abroad by native commodity, and not with specie: whereas, upon a nation striking the balance of her account with the country she may have dealt with, it will be found that the deficiency on the side of her exportation must be made up in specie. Hence an industrious and frugal people like the Dutch will, when their country is in a state of tranquillity, possess great advantages over most other nations. Industry increases the native commodity, whether it arises from the soil or the manufacture, and increases the exportation. Frugality will lessen the consumption, and of course increase the exportation of native, and reduce the importation of foreign produce, for home consumption. The excess of all native commodities is sure of a market.' p. 293.

—and so forth. And still worse, if possible, are this worthy Knight's declamations against large farms, and his invocation to 'that ardent and cordial lover of his country, and particularly of the lower classes of society, Mr Whitbread,' to come forward with 'some legislative provision to check this monstrous and growing evil.' (p. 311.) We trust the distinguished person alluded to will very long continue better employed than in listening to such calls,—employed, as he has been, in investigating public abuses, and preaching the great doctrine of peace abroad, and economy at home.

Upon leaving Holland, our author went along the banks of the Rhine to Dusseldorff and Cologne. Painting ('an art which I worship,' says he) continues to furnish him with frequent materials for that other art which he worships, story-telling. But when he is fairly embarked on the Rhine, we experience some respite, and have a little description mixed with the anecdotes.

It would, indeed, have been hard to pass through this garden of the north of Europe with only Joe Miller in his head. We shall extract a specimen of the descriptions which he attempts here, and shall then give the only tolerably good story which he tells during his whole journey in the country of the Rhine.

'Soon after our departure from Coblentz, we passed the island of Obewerth; and a little further on, on our left, the disemboguement of the river Lahn, which flows between two ancient and picturesque towns, called the Upper and Lower Lahnsteins, where the Rhine forms a considerable curve, and expands into the resemblance of a placid lake, adorned with two vast mountains, one crowned with a hoary watch-tower, and the base of the other half encircled by a village, and the whole adorned by the captivating combinations of forest scenery, rich meadows, and hanging vineyards and orchards, amidst which, half embosomed in their foliage, the peasant's peaceful dwelling every now and then gladdened the eye. This lovely view was soon exchanged for one of gloomy magnificence. Before we reached Boppart, we entered a melancholy defile of barren and rugged rocks, rising perpendicularly from the river to an immense height, and throwing a shade and horror over the whole scene: here all was silent, and no traces of man were to be found, but in a few dispersed fishermens' huts, and crucifixes. Fear and superstition, "when the day has gone down, and the stars are few," have long filled every cave with banditti, and every solitary recess with apparitions.

'In the course of my passage I frequently, when the boat came very near the land, sprung on shore with two or three other passengers, and varied the scene by walking along the banks for a mile or two, and during these excursions had frequently an opportunity of admiring the astonishing activity and genius of the French, who have, since they became masters of the left bank of the Rhine, nearly finished one of the finest roads in the world, extending from Mayence to Cologne, in the course of which they have cut through many rocks impending over the river, and triumphed over some of the most formidable obstacles nature could present to the achievement of so wonderful a design. This magnificent undertaking, worthy of Rome in the most shining periods of her history, was executed by the French troops, who, under the direction of able engineers, preferred leaving those monuments of indefatigable toil and elevated enterprize, to passing their time, during the cessation of arms, in towns and barracks, in a state of indolence and inutility.

'The sombre spires of Boppart, surrounded by its black wall and towers, presented a melancholy appearance to the eye, relieved by the rich foliage of the trees in its vicinity, and the mountains behind it irregularly intersected with terraces covered with vines to their very summits. The antiquity of this city is very great; it was one of the fifty places of defence erected on the banks of the Rhine by Drusus Germanicus, and in the middle ages was an imperial city.

'Not far from Boppart we saw, on the right bank of the river, a

procession of nuns and friars returning to a convent, the belfry of which just peeped above a noble avenue of walnut-trees; they were singing, and their voices increased the solemn effect of the surrounding scenery. We put up for the night at a little village, amid mountains half covered with vineyards, tufted with forests, and checkered with convents and ruined castles. The evening was stormy, and a full moon occasionally brightened the scene.' p. 423–425.

The anecdote to which we allude, regards General Murat, now Grand Duke of Berg, one of the ablest of the great commanders whom the Revolution and its wars have raised from the lowest ranks of life. It is as follows.

'After his elevation to the rank of a prince of the French empire, he halted, in the close of the last war, at a small town in Germany, where he stayed for two or three days; and on finding the bread prepared for his table of an inferior kind, he despatched one of his suite to order the best baker in the town to attend him, to receive from him his directions respecting this precious article of life. A baker who had been long established in the place was selected for this purpose; and upon the aid-de-camp ordering him to wait upon the prince immediately, he observed, to the no little surprise of the officer—"It is useless my going; the prince will never employ me." Upon being pressed to state his reasons, he declined assigning any; but as the order of the messenger was peremptory, he followed him, and was immediately admitted to Murat, with whom he stayed about ten minutes, and then retired. As he quitted the house in which the prince lodged, he observed to the aid-de-camp, "I told you the prince would not employ me—he has dismissed me with this," displaying a purse of ducats. Upon being again pressed to explain the reason of this singular conduct, he replied, "The Prince Murat, when a boy, was apprenticed to a biscuit baker in the south of France, at the time I was a journeyman to him, and I have often thrashed him for being idle: the moment he saw me just now, he instantly remembered me, and without entering into the subject of our ancient acquaintance, or of that which led me to his presence, he hastily took this purse of ducats from the drawer of the table where he sat, gave it to me, and ordered me to retire.' p. 356, 357.

In the course of our author's route through this part of Germany, he gives us several facts, not uninteresting, with respect to the constitution of the French armies, and the system of police which they exercise on the German frontier. At Cologne, he saw the parade every morning and evening, for several days. The conscripts underwent a very short and simple course of drilling. They were taught to wheel; form close column; load, fire, and charge with the bayonet: in five days, they were qualified to march with the veteran troops. Very little attention was paid to forming the line. 'A more slovenly one' (says Sir John, and he was a keen *volunteer*, if we remember well his former tour), 'A more slovenly one I never witnessed.' Little attention, too,

was paid to the dress of the men, who were uniform only in wearing a short jacket; and, in every other article, seemed to consult their tastes or pockets. How beautifully clothed, and elegantly drilled, were the Prussian soldiers, in comparison of this! Our author travelled several days in company with a conscript, an elegant young man, son of a gentleman of fortune, and nephew of a general in that part of the army where he was going to serve. He had no hopes, he said, of raising himself from the ranks, but by good conduct and good fortune. He neither blamed his father for not paying the price of a substitute, nor repined at the conscription. '*Tout ce qu'il me faut maintenant*' (he said)—'*c'est, de devenir bon soldat.*'

The rigour of Bonaparte's government, in matters of commercial police, is in proportion to the exclusively military view which he takes of all the objects of policy. At Cologne, our author, by mistake, opened the door of a room where certain matrons of the police department were examining a number of females who had come across the river, to search for concealed articles of contraband. In his progress up the Rhine, he one day went ashore to take a walk; and getting into a thicket, was a good deal surprised by coming upon a French chasseur, whom he at first took for a robber; but who informed him that he was one of forty thousand, stationed along the left bank of the river, at the distance of a gunshot from each other, to prevent smuggling. They are dressed in green, for concealment; and hide themselves in the wood, wherever the nature of the ground permits them. It is needless to add, that where there are so many precautions against offending, the temptations to offend must be great, and that the precautions are insufficient after all.

Sir John Carr proceeded to Mentz and Frankfort, where he saw the fair, and terminated his journey. We trust he will excuse us for expressing a wish that he had given more of the kind of information which we have extracted or abridged, than of those portions of his volume which we have hinted at, or left unnoticed. He had many opportunities of gratifying a laudable curiosity; and it was not fitting that he should waste them upon matters which a tour to any of our watering places would have furnished in abundance. We greatly respect him for some good qualities which we have noticed in his writings, particularly those which we have already mentioned, of liberality and good nature. He also possesses a certain portion of industry and enterprise. When he travels again, as he is probably now about to do, let him turn those qualities to better account; and, instead of barely amusing the most trifling of all classes of readers, he may confer a real benefit on his countrymen, by introducing them to a more familiar acquaintance with the present situation and habits of other people.

ART. III. *An Essay on the Theory of Money, and Principles of Commerce.* By John Wheatley. 4to. pp. Cadell & Davies, London, 1807.

IN our review of Mr Wheatley's Observations on Currency and Commerce, we entered into a very ample detail of the errors and inaccuracies into which he had fallen. From a short preface to the work before us, we learn, that the theory which it is intended to establish, differs in no respect from that of which a general sketch was given in his preliminary remarks; and we must candidly confess, that this appears to us to be the case. Mr Wheatley has contrived to fill a quarto volume, chiefly by spinning out his former scanty materials into new paradoxes and repetitions; by overloading his reasonings with a mass of inapplicable details; and by dwelling, even more copiously than before, on those doctrines which have been already so satisfactorily explained. His imagination appears to have been heated with the expectation of making discoveries; and he has unluckily discovered nothing but obvious truths, and fallacious paradoxes. The extravagance of his conceits is, however, in some degree disguised by the perplexity of his arguments, and by the obscure and affected phraseology which he has adopted. Even in his most simple modes of expression, Mr Wheatley's meaning is often sufficiently dark; but when his terms are gathered into combinations, he reaches a higher climax of obscurity and confusion; and all traces of meaning disappear in a jargon of incomprehensible phrases. We cannot help remarking also, that, in the observations which he hazards on the merits of preceding writers, he is singularly unlucky; and has, in almost every instance, most perversely misconceived the meaning of his author. His plan seems to be, to break down a train of reasoning into insulated propositions, and, without attending to the spirit and scope of the general argument, to comment on garbled quotations, enlarging or restricting the sense of his author, according to his own fancy. It is hardly necessary to observe, that the closest and most accurate reasoning must suffer by this species of decomposition. Mr Hume, Dr Smith, Lord King, and Lord Liverpool, are alternately the objects of our author's criticisms: but the weight of his censure seems to fall on Dr Smith.

The grand principle on which Mr Wheatley's discoveries hinge, appears to be, that, when the quantity of money, in any country, is greater than its internal circulation requires, its value will be diminished, and whatever is superfluous will be exported to a better market. 'The effective principle' (he remarks) 'which regulates, in all countries, the amount of their currency, is the ac-

tion of money in conformity to the purport of its institution, as an uniform measure of value.' He afterwards observes, that 'this property directs its current where it will exchange to most advantage; and, as it necessarily follows, that money will exchange to most advantage where there is the least relative quantity, it invariably causes its remittance from the place where there is the greatest relative amount, to the place where there is the least.'

Of this principle, if we are to believe Mr Wheatley, Dr Smith was ignorant; for although he refers to it *incidentally*, yet he was not, it seems, sufficiently aware of its importance. Instead of asserting, therefore, that no one nation could possess a greater relative currency than another, Mr Wheatley informs us, that he advanced the following 'inefficient propositions.'

'1st, That the quantity of money in every country depends upon the power of purchasing. 2d, That it is regulated by the fertility of the mines, which supply the commercial world. 3d, That it is in proportion to the effectual demand. 4th, That it cannot exceed the sum which is necessary for the purposes of circulation. 5th, That it cannot be accumulated beyond what the nation can afford to employ. 6th, And that, when the channel is full, what flows in, must run out again.'

These six propositions, Mr Wheatley takes the trouble to consider and misrepresent, each in its order. In order that our readers may have some idea of the perverse industry with which he has laboured to quibble away Dr Smith's meaning, we may shortly state his arguments on the subject of currency, pointing out, at the same time, the misconceptions into which our author has fallen.

When Dr Smith observes that the quantity of the precious metals, in any particular country, depends, partly upon its power of purchasing, and partly upon the fertility or barrenness of the mines which may happen at that time to supply the commercial world, he evidently means, that the precious metals, unlike those perishable commodities of which the consumption is limited to the spot where they are produced, make their way to the most distant markets; and that an abundant supply will flow into the most remote countries, if they have wherewithal to pay for it, or if the state of their industry requires it. He does not mean to maintain, that the precious metals will be uselessly detained in any country; but that, from their durable nature, no distance of place can prevent them from following the effective demands of commerce; and that, owing to the ease with which they may be transported, their quantity throughout the whole extent of the civilized world, must be affected by the barrenness

or fertility of the mines from which they are derived.* Mr Wheatley observes, that this does not explain the cause which prevents the currency of one country from being wholly withdrawn, and added to the currency of another. But although this is not Dr Smith's object; although his intention is merely to point out the effects which arise from the easy transportation of the precious metals, does not Mr Wheatley perceive, that the principle for which he so zealously contends is implied throughout the whole of Dr Smith's reasonings? And that, if an abundance of gold or silver in one part of the world is felt in the most remote countries, that this must arise from the same causes by which their value is preserved in a just balance in more contiguous markets?

The remainder of Mr Wheatley's remarks on Dr Smith, seem to be conceived in the same spirit of captiousness and cavilling. He finds fault with the third position, which appears to us to be almost self-evident, that the quantity of the precious metals in any country, is regulated by the demand of those who are willing to pay for them: and he seems particularly displeased with the fourth and fifth positions, namely, that the quantity of gold and silver in every country, is limited by the use which there is for those metals, and that they can never be accumulated beyond what a nation can afford to employ. He is no doubt afraid, lest Dr Smith should be thought to have anticipated him in the discovery of the profound axiom on which all his discoveries are built. 'The fifth position' (he observes) 'is so singularly vague, that it is only necessary to notice it, in order to show the perplexity of his mind, and the versatility of his efforts to possess and elucidate the principle of the limit.' It is really inconceivable, that Mr Wheatley should take it seriously into his head, that Dr Smith did not know that money, like all other commodities, must be constantly attracted to the best market, and that it cannot consequently remain, for any length of time, dear in one country, and cheap in another. This principle is in itself very plain and obvious; and it is, besides, the foundation of the whole of that author's reasonings on the subject of currency. The anxiety, indeed, with which Mr Wheatley demonstrates what has long been familiar to every one, is truly ludicrous. It is recorded of Hudibras, that he could

> ——— 'wisely tell what hour o' the day
> The clock did strike by algebra:'

and we really think, that the speculations of a very numerous class of modern writers, terminate in results equally important. They seem to imagine, that, in order to be profound, they must be obscure; that they are penetrating into the mysteries of science,

* Wealth of Nations, Vol. I. p. 372.

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when they are only perplexing what preceding writers have made plain; and that their readers will be amply compensated for the toil and trouble they have encountered on a rugged road, by the poverty of the entertainment provided for them at the end of their journey.

The remaining part of the chapter is occupied with similar misconceptions of Dr Smith's meaning, into which we do not think it necessary to enter particularly, as we have already laid before our readers a sufficient specimen of our author's general inaccuracy.

The second chapter is intended to explain the 'functions of money;' although we do not see what can be added on this subject to the short statement of Dr Smith, namely, that money is the measure of value, and the instrument of commerce. It seems to be, in a great measure, a transcript of what Mr Wheatley had published in his preliminary work, which, as we have already examined at sufficient length, it will be superfluous to reconsider in this place.

The third chapter relates to the course of exchange: and although the subject has, in our opinion, been explained by a variety of writers with equal clearness and simplicity, Mr Wheatley seems to imagine, that it has been very generally misunderstood. His theory is here very amply detailed and illustrated; and it seems to differ considerably from that which was published in his preliminary observations. In his former work we understood him to state, that an excess of currency, by leading to an excess of imports, or to what has been called an unfavourable balance of trade, produced an unfavourable exchange. In the work before us, a partial augmentation or diminution of currency, is still stated as the sole cause of a favourable, or of an adverse exchange. But he now maintains, that the exchange has no connexion with the balance of trade; 'that the exchange may be favourable, when the balance is adverse; and adverse, when the balance is favourable.' In support of this opinion, he supposes the case of a nation, where the balance of trade is favourable, and where there is at the same time an excess of currency. In which case, Mr Wheatley contends, it is impossible that the exchange can be favourable with those countries where a similar excess of currency has not taken place. If at the time that a considerable balance was due from Hamburgh to London, 100*l.* in London were, owing to a relative excess of currency in this country, worth no more than 95*l.* in Hamburgh, it appears to Mr Wheatley absurd, to suppose that a Hamburgh merchant would give a premium for a bill for 100*l.* on this country, when it was in reality worth only 95*l.*

The conclusion is certainly very sound and logical; but the case from which Mr Wheatley deduces it, is evidently impossible. Gold and silver, like other commodities, always seek the best market. If there were already an excess of currency in the market of Britain, the British merchants would not surely import a greater quantity, in order still further to depress its value. Whatever commodities he might send to Hamburgh, he would order such commodities in return, as he might suppose were in request in Britain, not such as were already in too great abundance. It is evident, besides, that an excess of currency, by raising prices, necessarily leads to an excess of imports, or to an unfavourable balance of trade. The balance of trade may indeed be favourable to a country in some particular branches of its commerce, even during the continuance of an excess of currency; but, on the average amount of its whole transactions, it *must* be unfavourable; because it is in this way only that the excess of its currency can be taken off.

In the explanation of his hypothesis, Mr Wheatley also appears to us occasionally to confound the real with the nominal exchange. Ascribing an unfavourable exchange in all cases to a depreciation of the currency, he intimates, that the depreciation of the currency must be the exact measure of the unfavourableness of the exchange. During the late variation in the exchange between Dublin and London, he informs us, that 115*l.* in Dublin was worth no more than 100*l.* in London; and that, consequently, a premium of 15*l.* was paid in Dublin for a bill on London. It is scarcely necessary to observe, however, that the real exchange with London could never have been 15 *per cent.* against Dublin, as bullion could have been remitted at considerably less expense. At the period to which Mr Wheatley alludes, the currency of Ireland consisted of paper not convertible into specie, and depreciated from an excessive issue. In these circumstances, it is evident that nothing certain can be inferred with respect to the real rate of exchange from its apparent rate. The real exchange is calculated on an accurate comparison of the quantity of pure gold or silver which the currencies of different countries contain. When this quantity varies, the exchange may appear to be against a country, when it is really at par, or even in its favour. Neither is it true (except, indeed, when the real exchange is at par), that, when the currency of a country is depreciated, the computed exchange gives the measure of its depreciation. When the real exchange is in favour of a country of which the currency is depreciated, its whole amount must be added to the computed exchange, in order to ascertain the degree

of depreciation. A country with a depreciated currency may also have its computed exchange at par with all other countries; a circumstance which, of itself, might have satisfied Mr Wheatley, that there was a radical fallacy in his reasonings.

Mr Wheatley has committed another, though a more pardonable error, on the subject of exchanges. He observes, that where the expense of transmitting money between two countries is three *per cent.*, the exchange might continue permanently unfavourable to either of them to that amount, because, after paying the necessary charges of freight and insurance, nothing is left for the profit of the bullion merchant. Unless, therefore, the exchange is so far unfavourable, as not only to pay for the transportation of bullion, but also to secure a reasonable profit to the bullion merchant, specie will not be exported, and the unfavourable exchange will not be redressed. Lord King, also, in the observations which he has added on this subject to the second edition of his valuable work, seems to maintain, that an unfavourable exchange cannot be redressed by the transmission of bullion, unless the discount on the bills drawn by the creditor country be sufficient to secure, besides paying other charges, an adequate profit to the bullion merchant.

It is no doubt true, that bullion cannot be exported for the purpose of relieving a country from the burden of foreign debt, unless a suitable profit be derived from the transaction. But it does not seem necessary, in order to render the exportation of specie profitable, that the discount on every bill should be equal to the charges of a remittance of bullion. The debtor country has generally claims to a considerable extent against the creditor country. A great part of their mutual transactions will still be settled, therefore, by bills, without the intervention of specie. The principal utility, indeed, of bills of exchange, consists in economizing the use of specie, and in simplifying foreign payments, by rendering unnecessary a continual transmission of bullion between trading countries. It may not be necessary, therefore, for the debtor country to send abroad specie for above the tenth part of its debts; and it is evident, that a very small *per centage* on the whole of its foreign bills would amply defray this charge. If the exports of Hamburgh to London amount to 1,000,000*l.*, and the exports of London to Hamburgh amount to 1,200,000*l.*, it may be necessary to remit from Hamburgh to London 200,000*l.* in specie. There are bills on Hamburgh in the London market to the amount of 1,200,000*l.*; and they must fall to such a discount as will defray the charge of this remittance. But as the expense of sending abroad 200,000*l.* is to be charged on 1,200,000*l.*, it is evident that the discount on each bill will not

be nearly equal to the expense of remitting its own amount in specie.

The remaining part of the chapter is occupied with a very tedious explanation of the effects of a depreciated, or debased currency, on the exchange. There is more of inaccuracy and repetition here, than of positive error; or, at least, the errors which occur are obviously the result of an idle ambition to say something original on subjects where nothing remains to be discovered. We should have imagined, for instance, that the variations between the market and the mint price of bullion, had been already explained with sufficient clearness; yet, Mr Wheatley dedicates a whole chapter to this subject. It appears to us to be very clear, that where no seignorage is charged on the coin, a pound of uncoined gold must be very nearly of the same value as a pound of coined gold; nor does it seem less clear, that a pound of gold cannot lose any of its value by being manufactured into coin. Where the charge of coinage, therefore, is defrayed by Government, as in Britain, the market and the mint price of gold must be the same; except in the case of a debased or otherwise depreciated currency. This point is rendered particularly plain, in Locke's masterly treatise on this subject; and, if our author can resist the reasoning contained in several of the passages which he himself has quoted from that work, he has no chance to be convinced by any arguments which we can employ.

Mr Wheatley observes, however, that, in 1783, there was a remarkable advance in the market price of gold, above its mint price, although the gold currency was at that time perfect in its weight; and he informs us, that, with a few occasional interruptions, this inferiority has continued ever since; the market price having been sometimes as high as 4*l.* an ounce. Now, we may well be permitted to inquire how this could have happened. Gold bullion must be either purchased with specie or with bank-notes; and it is for Mr Wheatley to explain, what imaginable motive could induce the holder of four guineas to part with them for an ounce of gold and four shillings, when, by converting them into bullion, he would receive an ounce of gold and 6s. 2d. in return; the market price of gold being 3*l.* 17s. 10d. The same reasoning applies to bank-notes; as, previous to the restriction, they could be immediately converted into specie. The inaccuracy of the mint estimation of the precious metals, has also, Mr Wheatley observes, been stated as the cause of the excess of the market price over the mint price of gold or silver bullion. But although a pound of silver bullion will exchange for a greater quantity of gold coin than a pound of silver coin, Mr Wheatley will not allow that this is any evidence of the inaccuracy of the mint esti-

mation of silver. This proposition, however, appears to us to be so extremely clear, that we hope it will carry the evidence of its truth along with it, even to Mr Wheatley; and if we succeed in convincing him of his error on this particular point, we may hope to reclaim him from his eager pursuit of those delusive novelties which are constantly leading him astray from the path of sober investigation.

The market price of the precious metals, is the only sure measure of their value; and the mint estimation is only so far accurate as it is conformed to this unerring standard. When we say that the precious metals are inaccurately estimated at the mint with respect to each other, we mean merely, that their market price is either higher or lower than their mint price; and when a pound of coined silver exchanges for a smaller quantity of gold coin than a pound of silver bullion, is not this satisfactory evidence that the price of silver at the mint is lower than the price of silver in the market? We are convinced, that on all subjects connected with the complex economy of society, errors frequently arise from the nature of the terms which it is necessary to employ, and which, though they may be sufficiently intelligible on reflection, do not always suggest, without an effort of the understanding, any distinct idea to the mind. When several of these terms are connected together into a train of reasoning, the chances of deception from this source are necessarily multiplied; and an argument may appear perfectly correct and conclusive, of which the fallacy would be immediately apparent, if the combinations of which it consists could be brought before the mind in their natural simplicity. It is chiefly by not possessing a full and distinct perception of the bearings and relations of the different propositions of which an argument is composed, and by perplexing themselves with a confusion of notions and phrases which they do not distinctly understand, that superficial writers commit so many mistakes. Even more close and accurate reasoners occasionally fall into the same snare. An habitual abstraction of the mind from language to its dependent ideas, seems to be the best security against this species of deception.

It appears to us, that it is entirely owing to the want of a due consideration of the various propositions of which his theory respecting the market and the mint price of bullion consists, that Mr Wheatley himself does not see its absurdity. He supposes, that when currency is dearer at Hamburgh than at London, bullion, which he observes is the same as foreign coin, must also be dearer; and therefore, that a pound of bullion, whether copper, silver, or gold, must be worth more than a pound of coin. It is very extraordinary, that Mr Wheatley does not perceive, that

according to his own principles, the expense of transporting gold or currency, from the place where it is abundant to the place where it is scarce, must be the limit of the variations in its price. The intrinsic value of the coined metal, cannot be greater in Hamburgh than in London; its superior value arises entirely from the accidental circumstance of a great demand in London for money at Hamburgh. It seems singularly absurd, therefore, to suppose, that when it is transported from the place where it is in request to the place where it is not wanted, it should still retain its superior value. What does Mr Wheatley mean, by saying also, that the value of copper bullion must be increased in London, from the same cause which increases the value of gold bullion, namely, an unfavourable exchange? Are bills of exchange ever paid in copper?—But we are really wearied with hunting down these futile conceits.

Mr Wheatley proceeds, in his fifth chapter, to point out the errors which, according to him, Lord Liverpool has committed in his valuable work on coinage. He also touches upon the causes from which disorders may occasionally arise in a system of metallic currency. This subject is no doubt involved in considerable intricacy; but it does not seem to be the characteristic of Mr Wheatley's genius, to clear away obscurity or confusion from the subjects on which he treats. After observing, that when any metal is overrated in the currency of a country, or when the coins which are made out of a particular metal are debased or worn, the price of all commodities is regulated by the debased coins, or by the coins which are made of the metal underrated; he proceeds to argue, that as the silver currency in Britain has unquestionably lost a great part of its original value by rubbing and wearing, the prices of commodities in Britain must be regulated by the state of the silver coins, and not by the state of the gold coins; and that the value of the gold coins is actually degraded to the level of the silver coins. There is certainly something very spirited in thus attempting to maintain a theory against the most notorious facts. The silver currency of Britain is, we believe, depreciated about 25 *per cent.* If the prices of commodities, therefore, were regulated by this standard, silver bullion ought to be at 6s. 9d., and gold ought to be above 5*l.* an ounce. Has Mr Wheatley also forgotten, that by the reformation of the gold currency in 1774, the market price, both of silver and gold bullion, was lowered to the mint price, although the silver currency was at that time in a very imperfect state? And is it not evident, if both silver and gold bullion are raised or lowered in price, according to the perfect or debased state of the gold coin, that it is the state of the gold coin which

regulates their prices? We should have thought, that the strength of Mr Wheatley's faith in theory, would have been shaken by a consideration of these facts; and that he would have been led to suspect, that, in the infinite variety of new combinations, which human affairs are constantly presenting, new principles might arise of which he was not aware, and which, if rightly understood, might have saved him from the dilemma of rejecting an obvious fact, or admitting an exception to a theory which must be universal if it be true.

It no doubt appears from the whole history of our coinage, that when either gold or silver was greatly overrated in relation to each other, or when the coins made of either of those metals had lost much of their original value by debasement, or by being worn, the coins which were overrated or debased, either passed current at a discount, or the more perfect coins were entirely banished from circulation. But it is also very clear, that at present though the silver coin has lost the fourth part of its original value, it passes current at the estimation set on it when issued from the mint; and so far is the gold coin from being banished from circulation, that a guinea can always be had for twenty-one debased shillings, as readily as if the silver currency were in the most perfect state. This fact, indeed, is noticed by Dr Smith, who observes, that when the gold currency was reformed in 1774, twenty-one worn and debased shillings exchanged for a guinea which was perfect in its weight, with the same facility as before. Dr Smith, who had not the benefit of Mr Wheatley's theory, so far from conjecturing, that the value of the gold coin was degraded to the level of the debased silver coin, was of opinion, that the value of the silver coin was raised by means of the superior excellency of the gold coin. The reason, however, by which he endeavours to account for this fact, namely, that the most precious coin naturally regulates the value of the rest, is by no means satisfactory. In the reign of William III. the perfect state of the gold coin did not raise the value of the silver, which circulated at a discount of about 40 *per cent.*, 30s. being then the price of a guinea; and we cannot see any reason for supposing, that it produces this effect upon the silver coin at present. The following observations may perhaps afford a solution of this difficulty.

Lord Liverpool has stated, in a very clear and satisfactory manner, the series of changes, which, as a country advances in wealth, are gradually introduced into its system of currency. In a very early stage of society, when transactions are few and of small consequence, a very coarse metal, such as copper, generally answers all the purposes of a circulating medium. In

the course of advancing improvement, however, silver is found to be a more convenient instrument of exchange; and in the still further progress of commercial opulence, gold at last is the only metal in which the great payments can be conveniently effected.

When a currency has arrived at this last state of refinement, the coarser metals are never employed except in the smaller payments, which could not be conveniently effected by means of a metal so precious as gold. They become, therefore, subsidiary merely to the operations of the main currency.

It is very evident, that the coin in which the larger payments are effected, can only pass current at its intrinsic worth; and accordingly, all attempts to give it an arbitrary value, either by debasement, or by raising its denomination, have been uniformly followed by a corresponding rise of prices. Men are alarmed when the only known rule by which the value of the currency can be estimated, is abandoned; and they plainly perceive, that the disorder which this arbitrary innovation must produce, will finally render it necessary, in estimating the value of the coin, to revert to the sure and incorruptible standard of its intrinsic worth. A subsidiary currency, however, is susceptible of an arbitrary value:—as its depreciation cannot be attended with effects so injurious to society, it may circulate very freely, although the intrinsic value is not equal to its current value. In all the metallic currencies of Europe, copper is a subsidiary currency; and in the currency of Britain, both silver and copper are subsidiary currencies. The current value of the copper coins, accordingly, before the late new coinage, was considerably higher than their intrinsic value; and they passed in circulation without producing the least inconvenience. It is not less evident, we conceive, though it has been less noticed, that the silver currency has assumed an arbitrary value, ever since the period when it was exclusively appropriated to the smaller payments. This great change in the currency of Britain, took place in the reign of King William. Our limits do not permit us to enlarge on the various steps of that process by which it was perfected. We cannot help observing, however, that the state of the British coin, at that period, appears to us to be peculiarly deserving of attention; not only as the facts which were then disclosed, throw a peculiar light on the nature and principles of a metallic currency, but because the appearances then exhibited may not again occur in the revolution of ages. It is impossible to fix the period at which, in the progress of improvement, a similar change may take place in the metallic currencies of Europe; and in looking back to the earlier stages of society, no traces are to

be found of those temporary disorders which must have taken place, when silver was substituted for copper in the main payments. It need not indeed excite surprise, when the historian of battles and political revolutions can scarcely glean, in the earlier periods of history, the materials of a connected narrative, that no record should be preserved of those facts, which are not recommended to vulgar notice by novelty and glare, but are only valuable as they furnish the materials of philosophical speculation. When time has injured the outline of the picture, it is not natural to expect, that the more delicate shades should have been transmitted in full preservation.

The amount of our specie forms the subject of Mr Wheatley's sixth chapter. We have already had occasion to express our opinion on this point, in our review of Lord Liverpool's work; so that it is unnecessary to touch on it at present. For the same reason, we must also decline entering into a consideration of the next chapter, which relates to the balance of trade; having nothing further to add to what we have already had occasion to observe on that subject in our examination of Mr Wheatley's preliminary work.

In the eighth chapter, our author explains in what way a nation must discharge its foreign expenditure; but we do not see that he has added much to the simple explanation of this subject afforded by Dr Smith. His opinions, besides being anticipated in general by preceding writers, are incumbered with such a variety of confused and unintelligible notions, that we may venture to affirm, that no reader, who has not the patience and good temper of a reviewer, will venture to analyze the mass, and to disentangle the author's substantial doctrines from the extraneous notions in which they are always enveloped. When, by means of a favourable exchange, a country has debts owing to it abroad, this foreign expenditure may obviously be discharged by a bill on the debtor country. But when its foreign debt exceeds the amount of the debts due to it, some other resource must be fallen upon: either bullion or commodities must be exported; and, in general, the latter will be preferred. On this subject, however, we have fully explained our sentiments in our review of Foster on Commercial Exchanges.

Mr Wheatley dwells with considerable severity on the narrow notions by which Mr Pitt, during the last war, was induced to withhold from our Continental allies that relief which could have been easily spared from the ample resources of Britain; and he seems to be of opinion, that the apprehensions, so earnestly expressed on this subject by the Directors of the Bank of England, were, in some degree, chimerical. We are for once inclined to

agree with Mr Wheatley. We cannot well conceive, if the money is once levied from the people by means of taxes, how the mere circumstance of remitting it to Germany should menace the Bank of England with ruin. Even if it were necessary to remit bullion, like all other commodities bullion can be procured by those who want it, and have wherewithal to pay for it. Remittances are constantly made from all parts of the country to London; but we never heard that this gave any disturbance to the natural course of trade. The remittance of money from one country to another is one of the most ordinary transactions of commerce; and it would certainly be very unaccountable if no expedient had yet been found out, by which it could be effected, without giving a shock to the commercial world. We cannot help suspecting also, that the effects of the importation of grain, in producing an exportation of our specie, have been considerably exaggerated. It seems to be taken for granted, that the grain which it was found necessary to import must have been paid exclusively in money. It is almost superfluous to observe, however, that the whole circulating coin of Britain would not have been sufficient for this purpose. Bullion, therefore, must have been procured, and it could only be procured by means of commodities. But it would surely be a simpler process to exchange commodities directly for the grain; and, in a country abounding with every manufacture which can minister to the gratification of mankind, suitable equivalents may always be provided for whatever is wanted.

Even where the balance of trade is turned against a country, we apprehend it may be rectified without exporting the specie which is necessary for its internal circulation. An unfavourable exchange, which is always the consequence of an unfavourable balance of trade, has a tendency to diminish imports, and to increase exports; and we imagine, that, in point of fact, this is the way in which it is generally redressed. Mr Thornton has argued as if a country might be subjected to a constant drain of specie for a length of time: But we do not see how this is possible; 1*st*, Because a country can seldom spare any considerable part of its circulating coin, and if it were exported, the void must be instantly supplied by new importations; and, 2*dly*, Because whatever was exported must be added to the currency of another country, where it is equally impossible that it can remain. It appears to us, therefore, that the quantity of specie necessary to settle the mutual transactions of trading nations must be very trifling, and that the unfavourable balance of trade has very little connexion with the distresses to which the

Bank of England is exposed. The causes which led to the run on the bank, and which might have rendered the restriction of cash payments necessary, seem to us to have originated almost exclusively in domestic alarm—a circumstance which has always occasioned distress to the bank, and which, from the nature of its operation, is perfectly adequate to produce that effect. After this alarm had fairly subsided, we do not see why the restriction might not have been taken off. On this subject, however, we must express unfeigned diffidence, as we are sensible that a very minute acquaintance with facts would be necessary to form a decided opinion.

The remainder of Mr Wheatley's performance relates chiefly to the depreciation of money. The mode in which he conducts this inquiry is peculiarly exceptionable; but we have already very fully stated our objections to this part of his work. He confounds a general degradation in the value of gold and silver with the debasement of the coin in a particular country. Dr Smith was of opinion, that the value of gold and silver was rather rising than sinking during the greater part of the last century; and, in confirmation of this opinion, he shows that the average prices of grain had rather declined during that time. It has been supposed, however, that, since the publication of Dr Smith's work, the value of gold and silver has been falling, owing to the increased issues of paper which have taken place throughout Europe. As the subject is important, we shall lay before our readers a short statement of the arguments by which this opinion is supported.

The price of gold and silver, like that of all other commodities, must depend on the relation which subsists between the supply and the demand. Since the discovery of the American mines, Dr Smith has shown, that the demand for the precious metals must have been constantly increasing, in proportion to the increasing improvement and opulence of mankind. This increasing demand, he imagines, may have in some degree prevented the great increase in the supply derived from the American mines, from lowering the value of gold and silver so much as it otherwise would have done. In stating this argument, we do not think that Dr Smith seems sufficiently aware of one circumstance, namely, that the invention and more extended use of paper currency, by substituting a cheaper and more convenient instrument of commerce in place of specie, has served greatly to diminish that increased demand for the precious metals, which the advancing improvement of the world would have occasioned. Had the commerce of mankind been exclusively carried on by means of a metallic currency, the market for the precious metals must have been greatly enlarged in the progress and general diffusion

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of opulence. But since this expedient has been fallen upon, a mine is opened, from which an inexhaustible supply of currency may be derived; and when an extension of commerce requires an accession to the circulating medium, it is obvious that the cheaper will be preferred to the more expensive species of currency. Not only, however, has no addition been made to the quantity of specie actually circulating in Europe, but, in some countries, it seems to have been almost wholly supplanted by the use of paper. In Britain, the gold currency was supposed, in 1774, the time when it was called in and recoined, to amount to twenty-seven millions; and at present it would be estimated much too high at three millions. By the extension of paper currency, therefore, in Britain, twenty-four millions of guineas must have been thrown into the general market of Europe; and if we can suppose that any thing like a similar change has taken place in other countries, a vast quantity of specie must have been thrown out of circulation, into which it will not be received except at a diminished value. The effect must be the same as if the currency of Europe had been increased, without any corresponding increase in the demands of its commerce.

The general argument on this subject is considerably strengthened by a reference to the prices of grain, which have evidently risen considerably during the course of the last century. The year 1740 is represented as a year of extraordinary scarcity. The price of the quarter of wheat did not however rise higher than 2*l.* 10s. 8d., which would now be considered as a low price. At present, indeed, when the market is overstocked with grain, and prices have fallen very low, 2*l.* 7s. seems to be the lowest price of the quarter of wheat in the London market; and in the two scarce years of 1799 and 1800, it was sometimes as high as 7*l.* This evident rise in the money price of corn, does not seem easily accounted for, except on the supposition that the value of gold and silver is fallen in the European market. And if this is the case, we imagine it can only be ascribed to the preponderance of paper in the currencies of Europe.

But whatever may be our opinion upon these points, we are decidedly against all those violent remedies which Mr Wheatley proposes; and we are convinced, that the more fully the internal economy of society is explained and understood, it will always appear to stand less in need of external aid for the accomplishment of all its necessary ends. The injurious consequences which arise from all variations in the value of gold and silver, are too obvious to require explanation. But the evil must be left to cure itself; and the apprehensions of Mr Wheatley, that

there is no limit to the degradation of the value of the precious metals, are completely chimerical. By requiring a smaller quantity for coin, a smaller quantity will indeed be annually consumed: The produce will thus be superior to the consumption; and the mass of gold and silver will be annually increasing. But the diminution of their value, which will be the consequence of their gradual increase, will lead to a less sparing use of them for other purposes; and the consumption and the produce will thus be gradually equalized; their further increase will be stopped; and their price will consequently be prevented from falling lower. If the preceding reasonings be well-founded, the produce of the American mines must have been for some time superior to the general rate of consumption throughout the world. Whether this is the case at present, it would no doubt be very difficult to determine. But we cannot doubt that the rate of produce and consumption will ultimately be very accurately adjusted. On considering the process, however, by which this must be brought about, it appears to us, that the value of gold and silver will alternately fluctuate for some time, both above and below that point at which it will finally remain fixed.

On the whole, we think Mr Wheatley's quarto considerably worse than his octavo. The wisest thing he could do, perhaps, would be to forswear the subject altogether; but if he be smitten with an indestructible love of economical speculations, we would exhort him to spend a little more time in learning, before he sets up for a teacher; and to make one vigorous attempt to understand the reasonings of his predecessors, before he gives himself the trouble of pointing out their mistakes.

ART. IV. *Historical Apology for the Irish Catholics.* By William Parnell, Esquire. 8vo. pp. 147. Fitzpatrick, Dublin, 1807.

IF ever a nation exhibited symptoms of downright madness, or utter stupidity, we conceive these symptoms may be easily recognized in the conduct of this country upon the Catholic question. A man has a wound in his great toe, and a violent and perilous fever at the same time; and he refuses to take the medicines for the fever, because it will disconcert his toe! The mournful and folly-stricken blockhead forgets that his toe cannot survive him;—that if he dies, there can be no digital life apart from him: yet he lingers and fondles over this last part of his body, soothing it madly with little plasters, and anile fomentations, while the neglected fever rages in his entrails, and burns

away his whole life. If the comparatively little questions of Establishment are all that this country is capable of discussing or regarding, for God's sake let us remember, that the foreign conquest, which destroys all, destroys this beloved *toe* also. Pass over freedom, industry and science—and look upon this great empire, by which we are about to be swallowed up, only as it affects the manner of collecting tithes, and of reading the liturgy—still, if all goes, these must go too; and even, for their interests, it is worth while to conciliate Ireland, to avert the hostility, and to employ the strength of the Catholic population. We plead the question as the sincerest friends to the Establishment;—as wishing to it all the prosperity and duration its warmest advocates can desire—but remembering always, what these advocates seem to forget, that the Establishment cannot be threatened by any danger so great as the perdition of the kingdom in which it is established.

We are truly glad to agree so entirely with Mr Parnell upon this great question; we admire his way of thinking; and most cordially recommend his work to the attention of the public. The general conclusion which he attempts to prove is this;—that religious sentiment, however perverted by bigotry or fanaticism, has always a *tendency* to moderation; that it seldom assumes any great portion of activity or enthusiasm, except from novelty of opinion, or from opposition, contumely and persecution, when novelty ceases; that a government has little to fear from any religious sect, except while that sect is new. Give a government only time, and, provided it has the good sense to treat folly with forbearance, it must ultimately prevail. When, therefore, a sect is found, after a lapse of years, to be ill disposed to the government, we may be certain that government has widened its separation by marked distinctions, roused its resentment by contumely, or supported its enthusiasm by persecution.

The *particular* conclusion Mr Parnell attempts to prove is, that the Catholic religion in Ireland had sunk into torpor and inactivity, till Government roused it with the lash: that even then, from the respect and attachment which men are always inclined to show towards government, there still remained a large body of loyal Catholics: that these only decreased in number from the rapid increase of persecution: and that, after all, the effects which the resentment of the Roman Catholics had in creating rebellions, has been very much exaggerated.

In support of these two conclusions, Mr Parnell takes a survey of the history of Ireland, from the conquest under Henry, to the rebellion under Charles the First, passing very rapidly over the period which preceded the Reformation, and dwelling principally

upon the various rebellions which broke out in Ireland between the Reformation, and the grand rebellion in the reign of Charles the First. The celebrated conquest of Ireland by Henry the Second, extended only to a very few counties in Leinster; nine tenths of the whole kingdom were left, as he found them, under the dominion of their native princes. The influence of example was as strong in this, as in most other instances; and great numbers of the English settlers who came over under various adventurers, resigned their pretensions to superior civilization, cast off their lower garments, and lapsed into the nudity and barbarism of the Irish. The limit which divided the possessions of the English settler from those of the native Irish, was called the pale; and the expressions of inhabitants *within the pale*, and *without the pale*, were the terms by which the two nations were distinguished. It is almost superfluous to state, that the most bloody and pernicious warfare was carried on upon the borders—sometimes for something—sometimes for nothing—most commonly for cows. The Irish, over whom the sovereigns of England affected a sort of nominal dominion, were entirely governed by their own laws; and so very little connexion had they with the justice of the invading country, that it was as lawful to kill an Irishman as it was to kill a badger or a fox. The instances are innumerable, where the defendant has pleaded that the deceased was an Irishman, and that therefore defendant had a right to kill him;—and, upon the proof of Hibernicism, acquittal followed of course.

When the English army mustered in any great strength, the Irish chieftains would do exterior homage to the English Crown; and they very frequently, by this artifice, averted from their country the miseries of invasion: but they remained completely unsubdued, till the rebellion which took place in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, of which that politic woman availed herself to the complete subjugation of Ireland. In speaking of the Irish about the reign of Elizabeth, or James the First, we must not draw our comparisons from England, but from New Zealand; they were not civilized men, but savages; and, if we reason about their conduct, we must reason of them as savages.

'After reading every account of Irish history' (says Mr Parnell), 'one great perplexity appears to remain: How does it happen, that from the first invasion of the English, till the reign of James I., Ireland seems not to have made the smallest progress in civilization or wealth?

'That it was divided into a number of small principalities, which waged constant war on each other; or that the appointment of the chieftains was elective; do not appear sufficient reasons, although these are the only ones assigned by those who have been at the trouble of considering the subject: neither are the confiscations of property quite sufficient to account for the effect. There have been

great confiscations in other countries, and still they have flourished: the petty states of Greece were quite analogous to the chiefries (as they were called) in Ireland; and yet they seemed to flourish almost in proportion to their dissensions. Poland felt the bad effects of an elective monarchy more than any other country; and yet, in point of civilization, it maintained a very respectable rank among the nations of Europe; but Ireland never, for an instant, made any progress in improvement, till the reign of James I.

'It is scarcely credible, that in a climate like that of Ireland, and at a period so far advanced in civilization as the end of Elizabeth's reign, the greater part of the natives should go naked. Yet this is rendered certain by the testimony of an eyewitness, Fynes Moryson. "In the remote parts, he says, where the English laws and manners are unknown, the very chief of the Irish, as well men as women, go naked in the winter time, only having their privy parts covered with a rag of linen, and their bodies with a loose mantle. This I speak of my own experience; yet remember that a Bohemian Baron, coming out of Scotland to us by the north parts of the wild Irish, told me in great earnestness, that he, coming to the house of O'Kane, a great lord amongst them, was met at the door by sixteen women all naked, excepting their loose mantles, whereof eight or ten were very fair; with which strange sight his eyes being dazzled, they led him into the house, and then sitting down by the fire with crossed legs, like tailors, and so low as could not but offend chaste eyes, desired him to sit down with them. Soon after, O'Kane, the lord of the country, came in all naked, except a loose mantle and shoes, which he put off as soon as he came in; and, entertaining the Baron after his best manner in the Latin tongue, desired him to put off his apparel, which he thought to be a burden to him, and to sit naked.

"To conclude, men and women at night going to sleep, lye thus naked in a round circle about the fire, with their feet towards it. They fold their heads and their upper parts in woollen mantles, first steeped in water to keep them warm; for they say, that woollen cloth, wetted, preserves heat (as linen, wetted, preserves cold), when the smoke of their bodies has warmed the woollen cloth."

'The cause of this extreme poverty, and of its long continuance, we must conclude, arose from the peculiar laws of property, which were in force under the Irish dynasties. These laws have been described by most writers as similar to the Kentish custom of gavelkind; and indeed so little attention was paid to the subject, that were it not for the researches of Sir J. Davis, the knowledge of this singular usage would have been entirely lost.

'The Brehon law of property, he tells us, was similar to the custom (as the English lawyers term it) of hodge-podge. When any one of the sept died, his lands did not descend to his sons, but were divided among the whole sept: and, for this purpose, the chief of the sept made a new division of the whole lands belonging to the sept, and gave every

one his part according to seniority. So that no man had a property which could descend to his children; and even during his own life, his possession of any particular spot was quite uncertain, being liable to be constantly shuffled and changed by new partitions. The consequence of this was, that there was not a house of brick or stone, among the Irish, down to the reign of Henry VII.; not even a garden or orchard, or well fenced or improved field, neither village or town, or in any respect the least provision for posterity. This monstrous custom, so opposite to the natural feelings of mankind, was probably perpetuated by the policy of the chiefs. In the first place, the power of partitioning being lodged in their hands, made them the most absolute of tyrants, being the dispensers of the property, as well as of the liberty of their subjects. In the second place, it had the appearance of adding to the number of their savage armies; for, where there was no improvement or tillage, war was pursued as an occupation.

'In the early history of Ireland, we find several instances of chieftains discountenancing tillage; and, so late as Elizabeth's reign, Moryson says, that "Sir Neal Garve restrained his people from ploughing, that they might assist him to do any mischief." p. 98–102.

These quotations and observations will enable us to state a few plain facts for the recollection of our English readers. 1*st*, Ireland was never subdued till the rebellion in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. 2*d*, For four hundred years before that period, the two nations had been almost constantly at war; and, in consequence of this, a deep and irreconcileable hatred existed between the people within and without the pale. 3*d*, The Irish, at the accession of Queen Elizabeth, were unquestionably the most barbarous people in Europe. So much for what had happened previous to the reign of Queen Elizabeth: and let any man, who has the most superficial knowledge of human affairs, determine, whether national hatred, proceeding from such powerful causes, could possibly have been kept under by the defeat of one single rebellion; whether it would not have been easy to have foreseen, at that period, that a proud, brave, half-savage people, would cherish the memory of their wrongs for centuries to come, and break forth into arms at every period when they were particularly exasperated by oppression, or invited by opportunity. If the Protestant religion had spread in Ireland as it did in England; and if there never had been any difference of faith between the two countries,—can it be believed that the Irish, ill-treated, and infamously governed as they have been, would never have made any efforts to shake off the yoke of England? Surely there are causes enough to account for their impatience of that yoke, without endeavouring to inflame the zeal of ignorant people against the Catholic religion, and to make that mode of faith responsible for all the butchery which the Irish and

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English, for these two last centuries, have exercised upon each other. Every body, of course, must admit, that if to the causes of hatred already specified, there be added the additional cause of religious distinction, this last will give greater force (and what is of more consequence to observe, give *a name*) to the whole aggregate motive. But what Mr Parnell contends for, and clearly and decisively proves, is, that many of those sanguinary scenes attributed to the Catholic religion, are to be partly imputed to causes totally disconnected from religion; that the unjust invasion, and the tyrannical, infamous policy of the English, are to take their full share of blame with the sophisms and plots of Catholic priests. In the reign of Henry the Eighth, Mr Parnell shows, that feudal submission was readily paid to him by all the Irish chiefs; that the Reformation was received without the slightest opposition; and that the troubles which took place at that period in Ireland, are to be entirely attributed to the ambition and injustice of Henry. In the reign of Queen Mary, there was no recrimination upon the Protestants;—a striking proof, that the bigotry of the Catholic religion had not, at that period, risen to any great height in Ireland. The insurrections of the various Irish princes were as numerous, during this reign, as they had been in the two preceding reigns; a circumstance rather difficult of explanation, if, as is commonly believed, the Catholic religion was at that period the main spring of mens' actions.

In the reign of Elizabeth, the Catholic in the pale regularly fought against the Catholic out of the pale. O'Sullivan, a bigotted Papist, reproaches them with doing so. Speaking of the reign of James the First, he says, 'And now the eyes even of the English Irish' (the Catholics of the pale) 'were opened; and they cursed their former folly for helping the heretic.' The English Government were so sensible of the loyalty of the Irish English Catholics, that they entrusted them with the most confidential services. The Earl of Kildare was the principal instrument in waging war against the chieftains of Leix and Offal. William O'Bourge, another Catholic, was created Lord Castle Connel for his eminent services; and MacGully Patrick, a priest, was the state spy. We presume that this wise and *manly* conduct of Queen Elizabeth was utterly unknown both to the Pastry-cook and the Secretary of State, who have published upon the dangers of employing Catholics even against foreign enemies; and in those publications have said a great deal about the wisdom of our ancestors—the usual topic whenever the folly of their descendants is to be defended. To whatever other of our ancestors they may allude, they may spare all compliments to this illustrious Princess, who would certainly have kept the worthy Confectioner to the

composition of tarts, and most probably furnished him with the productions of the Right Honourable Secretary, as the means of conveying those juicy delicacies to an hungry and discerning public.

In the next two reigns, Mr Parnell shows by what injudicious measures of the English Government the spirit of Catholic opposition was gradually formed; for, that it did produce powerful effects at a subsequent period, he does not deny; but contends only, (as we have before stated), that these effects have been much overrated, and ascribed *solely* to the Catholic religion, when other causes have at least had an equal agency in bringing them about. He concludes with some general remarks on the dreadful state of Ireland, and the contemptible folly and bigotry of the English; * —remarks full of truth, of good sense, and of political courage. How melancholy to reflect, that there would be still some chance of saving England from the general wreck of empires, but that it may not be saved, because one politician will lose two thousand a year by it, and another three thousand—a third a place in reversion, and a fourth a pension for his aunt!—Alas! these are the powerful causes which have always settled the destiny of great kingdoms, and which may level Old England, with all its boasted freedom, and boasted wisdom, to the dust. Nor is it the least singular among the political phenomena of the present day, that the sole consideration which seems to influence the unbigotted part of the English people, in this great question of Ireland, is a regard for the personal feelings of the Monarch. Nothing is said or thought of the enormous risk to which Ireland is exposed,—nothing of the gross injustice with which the Catholics are treated,—nothing of the lucrative apostasy of those from whom they experience this treatment: but the only concern by which we all seem to be agitated is, that the King must not be vexed in his old age. We have a great respect for the King; and wish him all the happiness compatible with the happiness of his people. But these are not times to pay foolish compliments to Kings, or the sons of Kings, or to any body else: this Journal has always preserved its character for courage and honesty; and it shall do so to the last. If the people of this country are solely occupied in considering what is personally agreeable to the King, without considering what is for his permanent good, and for the safety of his dominions; if all public men, quitting the common vulgar scramble for emolument, do not concur in conciliating the people of Ireland; if the unfounded alarms, and the comparatively trifling

* It would be as well, in future, to say no more of the revocation of the edict of Nantz.

interests of the clergy, are to supersede the great question of freedom or slavery, it does appear to us quite impossible that so mean and so foolish a people can escape that destruction which is ready to burst upon them;—a destruction so imminent, that it can only be averted by arming all in our defence who would evidently be sharers in our ruin,—and by such a change of system as may save us from the hazard of being ruined by the ignorance and cowardice of any general, by the bigotry or the ambition of any minister, or by the well-meaning scruples of any human being, let his dignity be what it may. These minor and domestic dangers we must endeavour firmly and temperately to avert as we best can; but, at all hazards, we must keep out the destroyer from among us, or perish like wise and brave men in the attempt.

ART. V. *Caroli à Linné Species Plantarum; exhibentes Plantas rite cognitas, ad Genera relatas, cum differentibus specificis Nominibus, trivialibus Synonimis selectis Locis natalibus; secundum Systema Sexuale digestas. Editio quarta, post Reichardiamam quinta; adjectis Vegetabilibus hucusque cognitis. Curante Carolo Ludovico Willdenow.* Berolini impensis G. C. Nank, 1797. Already published, 3 vol. 8vo. in 7 parts; and part of the 4th. pp. 5,946.

THE former of these works cannot fail to be an acceptable present to all proficients in botany, on account of its containing so many of the plants lately discovered, arranged according to a system with which they have been long familiar. The latter, as an introduction to botanical studies, forms an useful manual for those who are desirous of acquiring a knowledge of the vegetable kingdom.

The Species Plantarum, which began to be published in 1797, is not yet complete; but the eight parts which have come into our hands, reaching the length of the class Monœcia inclusive, are sufficient to enable us to form an opinion of the merits of the work.

It contains not only the plants described by Linnæus, (as the title imports), but likewise such of those discovered since the death of that eminent naturalist, as Mr Willdenow has been able, on good grounds, to reduce to their proper place in the Linnæan system.

If the utility of botanical studies be at all granted, the advantages of a systematic arrangement of vegetables will be readily admitted. It is true, that the greatest part of those who are employed in cultivating the soil, may go on, from year to year,

raising their wheat, clover, and potatoes, without troubling their heads about the class or order, the genus or species, to which their crops may be referred. Many medical practitioners also may be usefully employed, during a long life, in administering opium, rhubarb, and senna, provided they know the proper doses of each, and the cases in which they ought to be employed, without knowing, or caring to know, that one is the inspissated juice of the *Papaver somniferum*, and the other the root of the *Rheum palmatum*. It is true, in like manner, that many artists are indebted to different machines, the mechanism of which they do not understand. Thousands make use of clocks and watches, who know nothing about pendulums or escapements, and who would be very much disposed to laugh at those who trouble themselves about such matters. But in spite of all this, there are some very good sort of people in the world, who think there may be some use in the study of botany and mechanics.

Though agriculture and medicine, the two professions which are usually thought to derive most benefit from the knowledge of botany, may be prosecuted without any acquaintance with methodical arrangement, yet, he who thinks of making improvements in either, by introducing into cultivation or practice, vegetables which have not formerly been attended to, or which may have been successfully cultivated or employed by others at a distance, would wish, in the one case, to be able to point out the species on which he had made his experiments, and in the other, to ascertain the particular plant, the cultivation or use of which he was ambitious of introducing. But besides all those to whom such knowledge may be useful, there are many worthy people who study botany merely for amusement, who would give a great deal for such a systematic arrangement as would enable them, with facility and precision, to reduce any plant to its genus and species. We shall take a short view, therefore, of what has been done towards accomplishing that object, that, from a knowledge of what has already been effected by the labours of others, some estimate may be formed of the obligations the lovers of botany lye under to Mr Willdenow.

The utility of many vegetables as articles of food, &c. the beauty and striking appearance of others, must have attracted the notice of men at a very early period; but, until their virtues in curing diseases and healing wounds was discovered, it is scarcely to be supposed, that any great anxiety would be felt even for an accurate description of them. This, perhaps, is the principal reason, why, in almost all those nations with whose early history we are acquainted, physicians have been the first botanists. Indeed, had we a more intimate acquaintance with

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the history of the Jews and Carthaginians, we might have said all, and neither made an exception of the Royal Botanist, who treated of all plants, from the lofty cedar which adorns Lebanon, down to the diminutive vegetables which disfigure walls; nor of the Carthaginian Mago, who wrote twenty-eight books *de re Rustica*, which were thought worthy of being transferred to Rome, among the other valuable spoils of Carthage, and were translated from the Punic into the Latin language, by order of the Senate.

While the number of ascertained useful vegetables was small, those to whom they were known would point them out to their disciples, who, in that way, would become acquainted with their general appearances, and other sensible properties: But when accidental discoveries, quackery, and intercourse between neighbouring nations, had augmented their number considerably, the necessity of accurate descriptions would become apparent.

Among the Greeks, though herbs were employed as medicines long before the Trojan war, and Cadmus had furnished the means of conveying their discoveries to posterity, yet many centuries elapsed before any writer appeared, who deserved the name of a botanist. Theophrastus, the favourite disciple of Aristotle, who succeeded him in the direction of the Peripatetic school, and inherited his library, is the first author whose works have reached us, who obtained that appellation. Pythagoras, Hippocrates, Cratejas, Aristotle, and many others, had treated indeed of vegetables before him; but their writings are either partly, or entirely lost, or contain but little of importance.

Of the ten books which Theophrastus wrote on Botany, nine have been preserved, containing an account of more than 500 vegetables, which he divides into trees, shrubs, and herbs,—a very humble attempt at methodical arrangement; yet, singular as it may appear, this clumsy distribution of vegetables prevailed, even among botanists, from his time till near the end of the 17th century, and for some time cramped the first efforts made towards establishing a more perfect arrangement. His descriptions, as was indeed to be expected, are still more imperfect than his arrangement; for much more attention is required to detect those distinguishing marks by which closely allied genera or species are to be discriminated, than to trace general resemblances. Had he been aware, that all the trouble he had taken to point out the uses of the vegetables of which he treated, would have been lost for want of such descriptions as might enable his readers to recognize them, he probably would have bestowed more pains on that subject, and botany might have received more early improvement.

The same inaccuracy of description, and want of method, in arranging vegetables, pervaded the writings of all the antient botanical authors, and rendered their works obscure, and frequently unintelligible. In reality, little or no addition was made to botanical knowledge by any of them, except in the number of plants they mention, from the time of Theophrastus, till some time after the revival of learning in Europe,—a period of nearly 2000 years.

Dioscorides, who lived about the time when the Roman empire had nearly arrived at its greatest extent, mentions about 700 plants, which he divides as articles of materia medica, into aromatic, alimentary, medicinal, and vinous. That industrious compiler, Caius Plinius Secundus, whose ardent curiosity cost him so dear, in his *Historia Mundi*, 15 books of which are occupied with botanical and agricultural matters, mentions above 1000 plants, which he divides, according to the antient arrangement, into trees, shrubs, and herbs. Neither this author, however, nor any of his contemporaries, seem to have considered botany as a branch of natural history, but merely as an account of *useful* vegetables; for he says, there are many more plants than those he has mentioned, which grow by the road sides, in hedges, and in the fields, which are of no use, and therefore have no names. All the succeeding authors who wrote on this subject, both European and Arabian, till about the beginning of the 16th century, were employed in copying their predecessors, and in making commentaries on their writings. At last, however, some, tired of studying the antients, began to study nature; and, convinced of the necessity of methodical arrangement, made several ineffectual attempts to arrange the plants they had collected, by means of their leaves, stems, and roots. Conrad Gesner, a native of Zurich, about the middle of the 16th century, first suggested the propriety of arranging vegetables, by means of their flowers and fruit, but formed no system of his own. In 1582, Andrew Cæsalpinus, a Florentine physician, and professor of botany at Padua, published an arrangement of vegetables, according to the principles proposed by Gesner, of which, as the first that had appeared in Europe in any way deserving the name of systematic, some little account may be interesting.—He arranged all vegetables into fifteen classes, as follows.

ARBORES.

Arbores, corculo ex apice seminis - - - - - - 1
——— basi seminis - - - - - - - 2

HERBÆ.

Fructu,
- Simplici, e
  - Seminibus solitariis - - - 3
  - Pericarpiis solitariis unilocularibus carnosis, bacca vel pomo - - 4
  - Pericarpiis solitariis unilocularibus siccis membranaceis - - - 5
- Duplici, e
  - Seminibus duobus nudis - - 6
  - Pericarpiis bilocularibus, vel duobus seminum receptaculis - - - 7
- Triplici, e
  - Pericarpiis trilocularibus vel seminibus tribus nudis, radice non bulbosa - 8
  - Pericarpiis trilocularibus, radice bulbosa 9
- Quadruplici, e — Seminibus - - - - - 10
- Multiplici, e
  - Seminibus pluribus intra calycem communem, petalo ad semen singulum unico - - - - - 11 & 12
  - Seminibus pluribus nudis, corolla seminibus communi - - - 13
  - Pericarpiis pluribus vel multifarium divisis 14
- Nullo visibili - - - - - - - - 15

These he again subdivided into 47 subdivisions.

Two circumstances render this method imperfect, and prevented its general adoption. First, the marks of the classes are taken almost exclusively from the *fruit;* secondly, the antient division is in great part retained, though a consciousness of its defects had led the author in so far to disregard the authority of Aristotle and Theophrastus, as to attempt to improve it by classifying his vegetables under two divisions only;—shrubs being left out altogether as a division.

After the lapse of a century, Dr Morison, a native of Aberdeen, and professor of botany at Oxford, by employing the parts of the flower and the general habit of the plant, in addition to those of the fruit, endeavoured to improve the method of Cæsalpinus, which had lain neglected ever since the death of its author. Morison also attempted to correct the defects of the antient division, by dividing all vegetables into ligneous, and not-ligneous. The ligneous he formed into three classes, trees, shrubs, and undershrubs: the not-ligneous, *i. e.* herbs or grasses, into fifteen. The subdivisions of which amount to one hundred and eight.

In 1682, John Ray, a native of Essex, who has acquired celebrity in other branches of natural history, published a methodical

arrangement of vegetables, founded on that of Cæsalpinus and Morison, consisting of twenty-five classes, which he afterwards improved and republished in 1700. His improved method consisted of thirty-three classes, which is divided into two grand divisions, *viz.* plants destitute of buds, *i. e.* herbs; and plants producing buds, *i. e.* trees. Herman, professor of botany at Leyden, Christopher Knaut, the celebrated Boerhaave, and many others, formed systems, by altering, and attempting to improve, those of their predecessors.

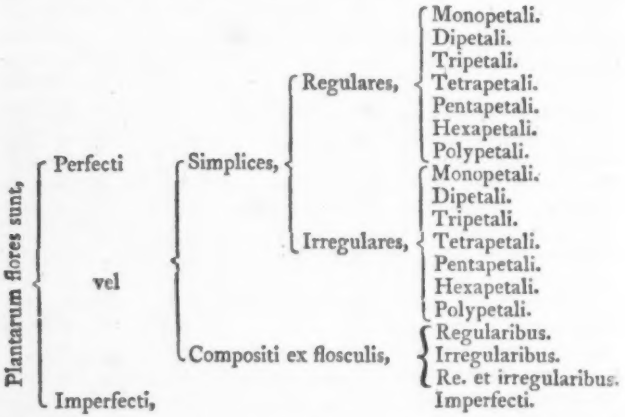
When any set of objects is too numerous to be comprehended by the mind at once, they may, by means of marks of distinction or resemblance, be divided or united into smaller assemblages, which (if the analytic method be followed) may be again divided into subdivisions, or orders; these again into genera, and genera into species: or, if the synthetic method be adopted, species may be assembled into genera, &c.

There are two ways of accomplishing this: the one, by uniting into the same assemblage, such species as, from an agreement in several particulars, seem to be connected by a close affinity established by nature; the other, by forming into arbitrary associations a number of species which happen to agree in some accidental circumstances. The former is called *natural*, the latter *artificial* method. All the authors of systems we have hitherto mentioned, adopted the natural method. In the vegetable kingdom, it frequently happens, that a great number of species agree in so many particulars, as evidently to demonstrate them to be members of the same natural family. Among the grasses, for instance, the family resemblance, the similarity in the form of the leaves, in the construction of the stalks, in the parts which compose the flower, and in the nature of the seeds, is so great in all of them, as easily to enable any one who may be acquainted with only one or two species, to recognize any other almost at first sight. There are other tribes of vegetables, the different species of which may be recognized with equal facility, even by those who have but a slight acquaintance with them; but this is by no means the case with all. Though nature generally exhibits a wonderful degree of regularity, she frequently makes considerable deviations; and anomalous productions are to be found, which, though they possess the principal features of one family, yet, in some particulars, so far resemble another very distinct tribe, as to make it doubtful to which of the two they ought to be referred, without a minute investigation by one well acquainted with the distinguishing characters of both. Nearly allied families, likewise, frequently run into one another so imperceptibly, as to render it no easy task to draw the line of separation.

For these reasons, it is frequently difficult to define natural families, in such a manner as to comprehend all their irregular members, without at the same time leaving room for the admission of species which do not belong to them.

Whatever may be said, therefore, in favour of natural classes, and however fit they may be, for the use of those who are well acquainted with botany, at a time when the greater part of the vegetables this globe produces shall have been discovered and described; while they are deficient in point of facility, they cannot be the most proper for beginners, nor could they be so even for botanists themselves, at a period when, comparatively, few plants were known.

A. Quirinus Rivinus, professor of botany at Leipsic, perceiving the defects of the natural systems proposed by his predecessors, endeavoured to form an artificial one, founded on the regularity and irregularity of the corolla, and on the number of the petals of which it was composed, which he published in 1690. It consisted of the eighteen following classes.



This author was the first who ventured to disregard the stamp of antiquity, and rejected entirely the ancient division, which had so long fettered all former framers of systems.

His design was good; but he was unfortunate in the choice of the part of the flower he fixed on for the foundation of his classes, as flowers are more liable to vary in the number of their petals, than in any other particular: he was however more successful in the selection of the fruit for the foundation of his

orders, because it affords marks which are subject to little variation.

Tournefort, whose system was more followed than any other, except that of Linnæus, particularly in France, and even in this country, till after the middle of last century, fixed on the form of the corolla for the foundation of his classes, many of which were very natural: but the great variety of forms the corolla assumes, many of which approach each other so nearly as scarcely to be distinguished, render the application of his system to practice difficult.

Many systems, both artificial and natural, have been devised by different botanists, * all of which gave way to the artificial system of Linnæus, termed *sexual*, because the distinguishing marks of all his classes are taken from the parts of generation, *i. e.* the pistillum and stamina.

The Linnæan method owes its success, not only to the superior facility, as well as certainty, by which any plant, by means of it, may be reduced to its class and order; but to the attention the author has paid to the more minute divisions, and to the pains he has taken to give accurate descriptions of the species, and to affix to each its trivial name. The different publications of Linnæus, particularly his *System of Nature*, and *Species Plantarum*, have done more for the advancement of botanical knowledge, than the writings of any other man. Since the time his last supplement was published, a very great number of species have been discovered in different quarters of the world. Those which have been described, are dispersed through the writings of various authors; others are only to be met with in the *herbariæ* of the curious. Linnæus junior, in his supplement, has described several. Murray and Gmelin, in their editions of the System of Nature, have published only such as they themselves had an opportunity of examining, together with those described by Thunberg and Jacquin.

It was long the earnest wish of those who were occupied with such studies, that some person, properly qualified, would give them in a collected form to the world. Willdenow undertook the Herculean labour; and, from the manner in which he has conducted this edition of the *Species Plantarum*, has shown himself well qualified for the task. He has adopted none of the alterations in the classes proposed by the authors we shall

* Adanson, a Frenchman, to show the facility with which they may be formed, and his own dexterity, has manufactured upwards of sixty of them.

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mention below; but has, with two exceptions, adhered very closely to the arrangement of Linnæus, at least in the larger divisions.

Notwithstanding the merits of the Linnæan system, it has without doubt many imperfections, which different botanists have endeavoured to correct, but hitherto without any very distinguished success. The two principal objections are, 1st, that plants, evidently connected by nature, are, according to it, placed in different classes; and that those which have no natural or general affinity, are sometimes arranged under the same class,—an objection to which every artificial system must be liable. 2dly, Plants, by means of it, cannot always be ascertained with such facility and precision as might have been expected in an artificial arrangement. The improvements which have been aimed at, have been suggested principally with a view to make the arrangement more natural; and indeed, Linnæus's own anxiety to remedy its defects in this particular, is one cause of the difficulty which is frequently experienced in reducing a plant to its proper place. In the class Diadelphia, for example, which ought to contain those plants whose stamina are united, by means of their filaments into *two* groups, there is a subdivision in the order Decandria, containing a number of genera, characterized *Omnia stamina connexa*; though it is obvious, that any one who knows merely the general principle of the Linnæan arrangement would naturally look for such a flower in the class Monadelphia.

Had Linnæus, instead of making this exception, improved the definition of his class by means of the form of the flowers, he would not only have obviated this difficulty, but rendered the class itself more natural, and made it comprehend those irregular members of the family which have their stamina unconnected. For there are many plants standing in the order Monogynia, of the class Decandria, which, from the form of their flower, and nature of their seed-pod, evidently belong to the class Diadelphia.

Any alterations, therefore, made with a view to render the arrangement more natural, which have a tendency to make it more complex, are certainly improper. Instead of depriving an artificial system of its principal recommendation, by patching or twisting it, it would be better, at once, to have recourse to natural classes, such as have been formed by Linnæus himself, by Batsch or Jussieu. But if an artificial arrangement be thought best adapted to the present state of botanical knowledge, such alterations only should be made as tend to remove ambiguity and difficulty. Of all the alterations and attempts to im-

prove the Linnæan system, there are but few that merit notice. Liljebad has made the following changes. He joined the 7th, 8th and 9th, to the 10th class; the 11th to the 13th; and the 18th, 21st, 22d and 23d, he included in one, and thus reduced the number of classes to 16. He has had few followers; therefore, we shall not stop to point out the impropriety of some of these combinations.

Thunberg has reduced the number to twenty, by distributing the plants of the 20th, 21st, 22d and 23d classes among those classes to which they are referable, according to the number and connexion of the stamina. His reasons for abolishing the classes Monœcia, Diœcia and Polygamia, are, 1*st*, The plants which belong to them are not always constant in point of sex; for culture, and a difference of climate, frequently removes a plant from the Monœcia, or Dicœcia, to the Polygamia. 2*dly*, By arranging the genera which compose these classes according to the nature and connexion of their stamina, many of them will stand in the same class with others which they resemble in almost every particular, except in the circumstance of having their male and female organs placed in separate flowers, either on the same or on different plants. His reasons for abolishing the class Gynandria are not equally valid.

Gmelin, in addition to the alterations proposed by Thunberg, which he has adopted in his edition of the Syst. Nat., has likewise united the class Icosandria to Polygamia, and consequently reduced the number to nineteen. This union is certainly unnecessary, if not altogether improper, as these two classes are sufficiently distinguished by the insertion of their stamina; a distinction which he himself has retained in his subdivisions of the united classes.

Willdenow, we think, has done right in rejecting all these proposed reductions in the number of classes; for it rarely happens that any considerable alteration can be made in a long established system, without producing some confusion and inconvenience; therefore none ought to be made or adopted, but such as evidently tend to produce some very considerable improvements; which is not the case with any of those hitherto made on the sexual system. The only deviations he has made from the arrangement of Linnæus, are, *first*, to break up the order Monogynia, of the class Syngynesia, and to place the plants which composed it, according to the number of the stamina, without any regard to their connexion by the antheræ. The plants belonging to this order, certainly have no affinity to the others which compose the class Syngynesia, which becomes a perfectly natural assemblage after their removal. *Secondly*, He has removed a great number

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of genera from the class Gynandria, and arranged them according to the number and connexion of their stamina. This class should comprehend those plants only whose stamina are attached to the pistillum; but Linnæus has introduced some whose stamina stand under the germen, attached to an elongation of the peduncle, which rises above the receptacle; and to the admission of these Willdenow objects, we think, with good reason.

Although the improvements made on the arrangement of Linnæus be unimportant, the changes among, and additions to, his genera and species, by Willdenow and others, have been very numerous. How far, in every instance, he has acted properly or otherwise, in making and adopting these, cannot be determined by any one who has not had access to the same sources of information as Willdenow himself, and who has not bestowed the same attention. From a pretty full examination of his voluminous work, however, we are disposed to rate his abilities as a botanist very high, and to place much confidence in his accuracy. His Species Plantarum, we are confident, will be highly prized by those who are best able to appreciate its merits. He has described a considerable number of species himself, and corrected such descriptions of former species as appeared to him not sufficiently accurate.

We have compared some of these corrections, made on the descriptions of species with which we are acquainted, and find they render the diagnosis more complete. He always mentions in what state he had seen the plants from which he has taken his descriptions; whether from a living plant or from a dried specimen; from one in flower, in fruit, or otherwise: so that an opinion may be formed how far the accuracy of his descriptions may be depended on. He likewise quotes his authority for every thing he has taken from others.

To give some idea of the great additions and many changes that have been made since the time of Linnæus, we shall now mention the number of the genera and species which have been added to the different classes, and notice the changes that have been made in each.

Genera added to the class Monandria, viz.

Monogynia—Hellenia 4 species, Hornstedtia 2, Hedychium 1; Phrynium 1, the Pontideria Ovata of Linnæus; Lopezia 1, Phylydrum 1, Cucularia 1, Qualia 2, Usteria 1, Pollichia 1, Mithridatea 1.

Digynia—Lacistema 1.

28 Species of former genera have been added to this class, 16 of which have been described by Willdenow, viz. Amomum 8, 7 of which are described by Willdenow. Costus 2. Alpinia 2,

1 described by W. Maranta 2, both by W. Thalia 1. Boerhaavia 6, 4 by W. Salicornia 5, 2 by W. Callitriche 1.

Genera added to the class DIANDRIA.

Monogynia—Pimelia, 4 species, composed of Passerina Gnidia, P. pilosa, and P. prostrata of Linnæus. Gallipea 1, Wulfenia 1, Cyrtandria 2, Bœa 1, Ghinia 2, Sciuris 1, Fontanesia 1, Lithophila 1, Linociera 1, Aruna 1.

Digynia—Crypsis 1, the anthoxanthum aculeatum Lin. suppl. Schoenus aculeatus of the Spec. Plant.

172 Species of former genera have been added to this class, 44 of which are described by Willdenow, viz.

Monogynia—Jasminum 9, 2 by W. Ligustrum 1. Olea 2. Chionanthus 3, 1 by W. Syringa 2, 1 by W. Veronica 17, 7 by W. Pæderota 1. Justicia 57, 10 by W. Gratiola 6, 3 by W. Calceolaria 5. Pinguicula 1, and by W. Utricularia 2, both by W. Verbena 4, 2 by W. Cunila 1, and by W. Monarda 2. Rosmarina 1. Salvia 26, 8 by W. Collonsonia 1. Ancistrum 1. Anthoxanthum 1.

Digynia—Piper 29, 6 by W.

New genera added to the class TRIANDRIA.

Monogynia—Aristea 1, the Ixia Africana of Linnæus. Witsenia 1, the Antholyza Maura of Lin. Marica 1, Xiphidium 2, Oxylaphus 1, Macrolobium 3, Rohria 1, Tonsella 2, Fissilia 1, Mapania 1, Miegia 1.

Digynia—Mecklenbergia 1. Perotis 2, 1 of them the Saccharum Spicatum of Lin. Lursia 4, of which the Phallaris Orizoides of Lin. is 1. Pappophorum 1. Lappago 1, the Cenhrus Racemosus of Lin.

Trigynia—Donatia 1, the Polycarpon Magellanicum of Lin.

423 Species of former genera added to this class, 105 of which have been described by Willdenow.

Monogynia—Valeriana 6. Comocladia 1, and by W. Polycnemum 4, 3 by W. Crocus 1, and by W. Hyppocratea 2, 1 by W. Ixia 22, 9 by W Gladiolus 28, 14 by W. Antholyza 1. Iris 16, 6 by W. Moræa 5, 2 by W. Wachendorfia 2. Commelina 3, 2 by W. Xyris 3, 1 by W. Kyllengia 4, 1 by W. Shoenus 26, 3 by W Cyperus 47, 15 by W. Scirpus 32, 1 by W. Eriophorum 1. Cenhrus 3.

Digynia—Saccharum 6, 2 by W. Phalaris 3. Paspalum 9, 2 by W. Panicum 44, 7 by W. Phleum 1. Alopecurus 3. Millium 5. Agrostis 20, 7 by W. Aira 5, 1 by W. Melica 6. Poa 33, 10 by W. Briza 1. Dactylis 10, 3 by W. Cynosurus 10, 1 by W. Festuca 11, 1 by W. Bromus 9, 1 by W. Stipa 3. Arena 12, 2 by W. Arundo 5. Aristidia 3. Lolium 1, and by W. Rottboellia, 10, 4 by W. Elymus 2, 1 by W. Hordeum 2. Triticum 3.

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Trigynia—Ericaulon 3, 1 by W. Holosteum 1. Mollugo 1, and by W. Queria 1. Lechia 1.

New genera added to the class TETANDRIA.

Monogynia—Rupala 2, Opercularia 3, Carphalia 1, Mattuschkæa 1, Roussea 1, Froelichia 1, Scolosanthus 1, Ernodea 1, Siderodendrum 1, Haffmannia 1, Chomelia 1, Petitia 1, Myonima 2, Pyrostria 1, Cunninghamia 2, Coccosypsilum 3, Wallenia 1, Witheringia 1, Myrmecia 1, Labatia 2, Laciostoma 1, Bellardia 1, Glossoma 1, Monetia 2, Blackburnia 1, the Ptelea Pinnata of Lin. Skimmia 1, Othera 1, Curticia 1, Chloranthus 1, Gonatocarpus 1.

Trigynia—Boscia 1.

195 New species added to the class TETANDRIA, 74 of which have been described by Willdenow.

Monogynia—Protea 23, 4 by W. Banksia 4, 1 by W. Embothrium 5, all by W. Globularia 2. Scabiosa 7, 1 by W. Hedyotes 4, 2 by W. Spermacoce 14, 6 by W. Asperula 1. Diodia 5, 1 by W. Knoxia 1, and by W. Houstonia 1, and by W. Gallium 24, 10 by W. Cruciannella 3, 2 by W. Rubia 2, 1 by W. Siphonanthus 1, and by W. Catesbæa 1. Ixora 3. Pavetta 3, 1 by W. Petesia 1. Ægiphila 7, 4 by W. Callicarpa 6, 2 by W. Aquartia 1, and by W. Manettia 3, all by W. Penæa 1. Blæria 4. Budleia 4. Exacum 7, 4 by W. Plantago 11. Cissus 11. Cornus 4. Samara 3, 1 by W. Fugara 7, 4 by W. Ludweigia 2. Oldenlandia 6, 1 by W. Ammannia 2, 1 by W. Dorstenia 6, 1 by W. Pethos 5, 3 by W. Elæagnus 6. Struthiola 1. Rivina 1, and by W. Alchemilla 1, and by W.

Digynia—Cuscuta 3, 1 by W. Hypecoum 1. Galopina 1.

Tetragynia—Ilex 15, 3 by W. Sagina 1. Tillæa 4, 3 by W. Myginda 1.

New genera added to the class PENTANDRIA.

Monogynia—Direna 1, Bacopa 1, Fagræa 1, Sprengelia 1, Styphelia 8, Weigelia 2, Trigura 2, Cantua 4, 1 of which, viz. the C. coronopifolia, is the Ipomæa Rubra Syst. Veg. and the Polemonium rubrum Spec. Plant. Lin. Lightfootia 2; the one, viz. L. oxycoccoides is the Lobelia tinella of Linnæus; and the other, viz. the L. subula, is the Campanula capillacea of the same author. Sphenoclea 1, Thouinia 1, Solandra 1, Cyphia 6, 3 of which, viz. the C. volubilis, C. bulbosa, and C. phytium, are of the Lobelia of Lin., with the same trivial names. Goodenia 9, Solina 1, Ucriana 1, Chimarrhis 1, Dentilla 1, Vangueria 1, Canephora 2, Cephælis 12, Berteria 1, Schwenkfeldia 3, Bæobotrys 2, Stroemia 4, the S. tetrandra is the Cleome fruticosa of Lin., which he places in the *Tetradynamia Siliquosæ*. Shœpfia 1,

Erithalis 2, Geniostoma 1, Tabarosa 2, Serissa 1, the Licium fætidum of Lin. Cryptostomum 1, Ardesia 8, Basovia 1, Lita 2.

Besides those already mentioned, other 42 genera have been added to this class. Of these we shall only mention such as contain species that have been transposed from former genera. Bumelia 12; two of these, viz. the B. tenax and B. fætidissima, are the Sideroxylon tenax and fætidissima of Lin.; and the B. salicifolia is the Achras salicifolia Lin. Zyziphus 10; of these the Z. vulgaris was the Rhamnus Zyziphus Lin. The Z. lineatus, Z. volubilis, Z. paliurus, Z. napeca, Z. jujuba, Z. lotus, Z. œnoplia, and Z. spina christi, were formerly species of Rhamnus which had the same trivial names. Scopolia 2; one of which, viz. the S. aculeata, is the Paullinia Asiatica Lin. Staavia 2, composed of the Brunia radiata and the B. glutinosa Lin. Elæodendrum contains 2 species, 1 of which, the E. argan, is the Rhamnus Siculus Linnæi. Strelitzia 2; the one the Heliconia alba, and the other the H. Bihæa of Lin. Webera 3; one of which, viz. the W. corymbosa, is the Rondeletia Asiatica Lin.

Trigynia—Portulacaria 1, the Crassula Portulacaria Lin.

914 Species of former genera added to this class.

Monogynia—Helliotropium 16, Myosotis 7, Lithospermum 8, Anchusa 6, Cynoglossum 16, Pulmonaria 1, Cerinthe 1, Onosma 5, Borago 2, Lycipsis 2, Echium 11, Messerschmidia 1, Tournefortia 3, Androsace 4, Primula 10, Tricratus 1, Cyclamen 2, Hottonia 2, Lysimachia 5, Anagallis 1, Theophrasta 1, Ophierrhiza 1, Lisianthus 10, Epacris 2, Plumbago 3, Phlox 2, Convolvulus 57, Ipomæa 8, Campanula 21, Phyteuma 9, Nauclea 5, Rondeletia 10, one of which, the R. tomentosa, is the Petesia stipularis of Lin. Macrocnemum 2, Bellonia 1, Portlandia 2, Lobelia 13, Schævola 2, Cinchona 6, of which the macrocarpa is the same with the C. officinalis of Gmelin. Willdenow gives a very good description of the C. officinalis, on the authority of Vahl; which is as follows. 'C. foliis ovatis lanceolatis glabris, capsulis oblongis.' Psychotria 33, Coffea 7, Chiococca 1, Hamellia 4, Lonicera 6, Triosteum 1, Muscenda 1, Verbascum 5, Atropa 1, Physalis 5, Solanum 44, Capsicum 2, Cestrum 7, Lycium 3, Jacquinia 1, Chironia 3, Cordia 11, Ethretia 5, Varronia 3, Laugeria 2, Chrysophyllum 5, Sideroxylon 3, Rhamnus 15, Phylica 6, Ceanothus 2, Buttneria 4, Agenia 1, Myrsine 1, Celastrus 21, Evonymus 4, Diosma 12, Brunia 2, Escallonia 1, Mangifera 1, Hirtella 2, Ribes 8, Viola 9, Impatiens 5, Hedera 3, Vitis 4, Claytonia 1, Heliconia 2, Achyranthes 7, Celosia 8, Illecebrum 3, Theseum 1, Rauwolfia 1, Pœderia 1, Carissa 3, Cerbera 3, Gardenia 8, Nereum 4, Echites 7, Cameraria 1, Tabernæmontana 6.

Digynia—Pergularia 3, Periploca 6, Cynanchum 11, Apocynum 5, Asclepias 15, Ceropegia 4, Stapelia 46, Herniaria 1, Chenopodium 6, Beta 1, Salsola 9, Gomphrena 1, Ulmus 4, Hydrolea 1, Swertia 2, Gentiana 1, Dichondra 1, Eryngium 2, Hydrocotyle 4, Azorella 2, Astrantia 1, Bupliarum 7, Tordyllium 1, Caucalis 5, Bunium 1, Conium 1, Selinum 3, Athamanta 2, Peucedanum 6, Cachrys 3, Ferula 3, Laserpitium 10, Heracleum 4, Ligusticum 5, Angelica 1, Sium 9, Sison 1, Bubon 1, Oenanthe 5, Æthusa 1, Scandix 1, Chærophyllum 3, Seseli 4, Smyrnium 2, Pimpinella 3.

Trigynia—Rhus 10. Viburnum 12. Sambucus 1. Tamarix 1. Xylophylla 3; Linnæus, on the authority of Brown, has placed this genus in the Pentandria Trigynia. Two of the species are Triandrius and Monoicus plants, viz. the Xylophylla arbuscula and falcata. One has hexandrious hermaphrodite flowers and female flowers mixt, viz. X. latifolia. Turnera 5. Pharnaceum 3. Basella 2. *Tetragynia*—Evolvulus 2. *Pentagynia*—Aralia 5. Glossopetalum 2. Statice 16. Drosera 2. Linum 6. Crassula 16. Mahernia 2.

33 Genera have been added to the class HEXANDRIA.

Monogynia—Strumaria 6; one of which, the S. filifolia, is the Crinum tinellum Lin. Cyrtanthus 3; one of them, viz. the C. angustifolius, is the Crinum angustifolium Lin.; and the C. obliquus, is the Crinum obliquum Lin. Eucornis 5; one of them, the E. regia, formerly the Frittilaria regia Lin. Eriospermum 3; one, viz. the E. latifolia, was the Ornithogalum capense Lin. Sanseviera 3; two of which, the Guineensis and Zeylanica, were formerly the Aletris hyacinthoides, and Aletris and Aloe hyacinthoides Lin. Lachenalia 24; the L. orchioides is the Phormium hyacinthoides of the supplement, and the Hyacinthus orchioides of the Sp. Pl. Lin.; the L. viridis, is the Hyacinthus viridis Lin.; the Scrotina, is the Hyacinthus scrotinus Lin.; L. tricolor, is the Phormium Aloides of Lin. Veltheimia 4; two of which, the Viridifolia and Uvaria, were formerly the Aletris capensis, and Aletris uvaria; the latter was likewise the Aloe uvaria of the Sp. Pl. Lin. Bambusa 2; of which the B. arundinacea, is the Arundo Bambos Lin.

Trigynia—Wurmbea 3; one of which, the Longiflora, was the Melanthium monopetalum Lin.

358 New species of former genera have been added to this class. Bromelia 3. Tillandsia 8. Tradescantia 8. Pontederia 2. Massonia 11. Narcissus 3. Pancratium 5. Crinum 3; one of which, the Erubescens, formerly the C. Americanum Lin. Hæmanthus 9; one of which, viz. the H. ciliaris, has been changed from the Hæmanthus to the Amaryllis, and from Ama-

ryllis to Hæmanthus again. Amaryllis 24. Allium 12. Lilium 7. Frittilaria 2. Uvularia 3. Tulipa 1. Albuca 7. Hypoxis 3. Ornithogalum 23. Scilla 5. Cyanella 1. Asphoditus 4. Anthericum 30. Leontici 2. Asparagus 6. Dracæna 6. Convallaria 2. Polyanthus 1. Hyacinthus 2. We find he has retained the non-scriptus which Dr Smith in his Flora has called Scylla nutans. Aloe 6; the A. picta, is the variety ϑ, λ, and μ of the A. perfoliata Lin.; the A. humilis, is the variety ο of the A. perfoliata of Lin.; the A. arachnoides, is the variety ϑ of the A. pumila Lin.; the A. verrucosa, is the variety β of the A. disticha Lin.; the A. carinata, is the variety γ of the A. disticha; the Al. plicatilis, is the variety ε of the A. disticha Lin. It is a difficult matter in exotic plants, particularly such as the Aloe, to distinguish species from varieties, because the only test by which they can be tried, is by the frequent raising of them from seed, observing whether the plants produced retain always the same appearance. Agave 3. Alstroemeria 1. Hemerocallis 2. Acorus 1. Orentium 1. Corypha 1. Calamus 7. Juncus 14; one of which, the J. maximus, is the variety ϑ of the J. pilosus Lin.; the J. spadiceus, is the β of the J. pilosus Lin.; the J. luteus, is the variety ε of the J. campestris Lin.; the J. parviflorus, is the variety γ of the J. pilosus Lin.; the J. albidus, is the variety ε of the J. pilosus Lin.; and the J. sudeticus, is the ϰ of the J. campestris Lin. Prinos 5. Berberis 1. Loranthus 13. Hillia 1. Frankenia 1. Peplis 1. Gahnia 1. Erharta 3.

Trigynia—Rumex 3. Melanthium 7. Helonias 1. Mediola 1.; the Dracæna volubilis of Lin. *Polygynia*—Alisma 2.

Heptandria. 5 Genera have been added to this class, together with five new species.

Monogynia—Pisonia 2. Æsculus 1. Dracontium 1.

Digynia—Limeum 1.

Octandria. 24 New genera have been added to this class.

Monogynia—Ornitrophe 6; one of which, the O. cobbe, is the Rhus cobbe Lin., and the O. comminia is the Rhus comminia of Lin.

Trigynia—Seriana 10; three of which, viz. the S. sinuata, Mexicana, and triternata, were the Paulinia sinuata, Mexicana, and triternata of Lin.

174 New species have been added to this class.

Monogynia—Tropæolum 1, Rexia 12, Oenothera 6, Gaura 2, Epilobium 4, Combretum 3, Amyris 10, Ximenia 1, Dodonæa 1, Lawsonia 1, Vaccinium 14, Erica 57, Daphne 12, Gnidia 6, Passerina 6, Bæckia 1.

Digynia—Weinmannia 2. *Trigynia*—Polygonum 14; one of which, viz. the P. minus, is the variety β of the Polygonum

Persicaria Lin., and the P. incanum is the variety γ of the P. Persicaria Lin. Coccoloba 6. Paullinia 6. Cardiospermum 2. Sapindus 6. *Tetragynia*—Forskolia 1.

Enneandria. 2 New genera have been added to this class. 24 New species have also been added.

Monogynia—Laurus 22. *Trigynia*—Rheum 2.

Decandria. 28 Additional genera have been added to this class.

Monogynia—Podalyria 15; 7 of which, viz. the capensis, genistoides, tinctoria, lupinoides, calyptrata, and myrtillifolia, were formerly species of the Sophora, with the same trivial names; the P. alba is the Sophora alba of the Syst. Veg. and the Crotalaria alba of the Sp. Pl. Lin. Schotia 1, the Guajacum afrum Lin. Gærtnera 1, the Banisteria Benghalensis Lin. Gomphia 5; one of which, the Jabotapita, is the Ochna Jabotapita Lin. Casæaria 12; two of which, the spinosa and parviflora, were the Samyda spinosa and parviflora Lin.

402 New species have been added to this class.

Monogynia—Sophora 3, Bauhinia 7, Hymenæa 2, Cassia 23, Cæsalpina 3, Guilandina 2, Guajacum 1, Ruta 2, Myroxylon 2, Adenanthera 1, Trichilia 9, Swietenia 2, Melia 2, Zygophyllum 4, Quassia 1, Limonia 5, Jussieua 3, Dais 1, Melastoma 71, Kalmia 2, Ledum 2, Rhododendron 3, Andromeda 16, Guatheria 1, Arbutus 1, Clethra 2, Styrax 3, Samyda 6, Bucida 1.

Digynia—Royena 2, Hydrangia 3, Trianthema 4, Saxifraga 11; the S. aizoon is the variety ε of S. cotyledon of Lin. Mitella 1, Gypsophila 3, Saponaria 1, Dianthus 14; the Sylvestris was formerly the variety ε of the D. caryophyllus.

Trygynia—Cucubalus 5, Silene 16, Stellaria 9; the Alsine, formerly the variety γ of the S. graminea Lin. Arenaria 11, Malpighia 11, Banisteria 18, Hiræa 2, Triopteris 7, Erythroxylon 10.

Pentagynia—Spondias 1, Cnestis 4, Cotyledon 11; the Lutea is the variety α of the C. umbilicus Lin. Sedum 10, Oxalis 67, Lychnis 2, Cerastium 5, Spergula 2.

Dodecandria. 9 New genera have been added to this class. 40 New species of former genera have been added to this class.

Monogynia—Bocconia 1, Bassia 2, Blakia 1, Decumaria 1, Cratæra 2, Triumpetta 6, Peganum 2, Nitraria 1, Talinum 3, Lythrum 3, Sterculia 5. *Digynia*—Agrimonia 2. *Trigynia*—Reseda 1, Euphorbia 60. *Tetragynia*—Calligonum 1, Aponogeton 2. *Pentagynia*—Glinus 1. *Dodecagynia*—Sempervivum 6.

Icosandria. 8 New genera have been added to this class. 217 New species of former genera have also been added.

Monogynia—Cactus 4. Leptospermum 10. Metrosideros 10;

of which the M. villosa and diffusa, were formerly the Melaleuca villosa and lucida; the M. angustifolia, is the Myrtus angustifolia of Lin. Psidium 5. Eugenia 21. Myrtus 20. Amygdalus 2. Prunus 16; of which the P. ceracifera was the variety ξ of the Prunus domestica Lin. *Digynia*—Cratægus 11. *Pentagynia*—Mespilus 2. Pyrus 9. Tetragonia 4. Mesembryanthemum 32; of which the M. latum is the variety β of the M. linguiforme Lin.; the obliquum and longum, were the varieties γ and δ of the M. linguiforme Lin.; the M. caninum is the variety α of the M. ringens Lin.; the M. felinum, is the variety β of the M. ringens Lin.; the M. striatum, is the variety γ of the M. trispidum Lin. Spiræa 6. *Polygynia*—Rosa 17. Rubus 11. Fragaria 5; of which the elatior and chiloensis are the varieties β and γ of the F. vesca of Lin. Potentilla 12. Geum 5.

Polyandria—17 New Genera have been added to this class. Alangium 2; one, the decapitatum, was the Grewia salvifolia Lin. Nelumbium 4; one of the species was the Nymphæa Nelumbo Lin.; another, the N. luteum, was the variety β of the Nymphæa Nelumbo.

202 New Species have been added to this class.

Monogynia—Marcgravia 1. Ternstrœmia 4. Capparis 17. Actæa 1. Chelidonium 1. Saracenia 2. Nymphæa 3. Sloanea 2. Mammea 1. Ochna 1. Filia 2. Latia 2. Grewia 6. Eleocarpus 2. Lecythis 6. Mentzelia 1. Loasa 5. Lagerstroemia 3. Cistus 35. Prockia 3. Corchorus 6. *Digynia*—Pæonia 4; of which the corallina was the variety β of the Officinalis Lin. *Trigynia*—Delphinium 4. Acenitum 8. *Tetragynia*—Titracera 10. Caryocar 2. *Pentagynia*—Aquilegia 1. Reaumuria 1. *Polygynia*—Dillenia 7. Lireodendron 2. Magnolia 4. Uvaria 9. Annona 9. Xylopia 1. Unona 3. Anemone 6. Atragene 2. Clematis 10. Thalictrum 7. Adonis 1. Ranunculus 17. Helleborus 3. Caltha 1.

Didynamia. *Gymnospermæ*—21 Genera has been added to this class. Bystropogon 7; one of which, the B. pectinatum, is the Nepeta pectinata Lin.; the B. suaveolens is the Ballota suaveolens Lin.; the B. plumosum is the Mentha plumosa Lin.; and the B. canariensis, the Mentha canariensis Lin. Hyptis 4; one of them, the H. radiata, is the Clinopodium. Plectranthus 6. His P. punctatus is the Ocimum punctatum Lin. *Angiospermæ*—Ponstimon 4; the P. pubescens is the Chelone ponstimon Lin. Spielmannia 1; Lantana Africana of Lin. Stemodia 5; one of which, viz. the S. durantifolia, is the Capraria durantifolia Lin. Ægenetia 1; the Orabana Ægenetia Lin. Achimenes 1; the Columnia longifolia Lin.

357 Species of former genera have been added to this class.—

Gymnospermæ—Ajuga 1. Teucrium 34. Satureja 3. Thymbra 1. Hyssopus 1. Nepeta 11. Lavandula 2. Sideritis 9. Mentha 7. Lamium 5. Galopsis 1. Betonica 3. Stachys 11. Marrubium 3. Leonurus 2. Phlomis 14; one of which, the P. Italica, is the P. purpurea Lin. Mellucella 3. Clinopodium 1. Origanum 5. Thymus 11. Dracocephalum 4. Melitis 1. Ocimum 10. Scutellaria 2. *Angiospermæ*—Rhinanthus 3. Euphrasia 5. Melampyrum 2. Pedicularis 17. Gerardia 3. Chelone 1. Gesneria 7. Anarrhinum 4. Antirrhinum 29. Martynia 1. Torenia 1. Besleria 4. Brunsfelsia 1. Scrophularia 9. Celsia 2. Hemimeris 2. Digitalis 3. Bignonia 35. Citharexylum 3. Halleria 1; the H. lucida Lin. Premna 1. Lantana 7. Cornutia 1. Capraria 3. Lindernia 2. Bucknera 5. Orobanche 10. Lippia 2. Sesamum 2. Mimulus 2. Ruellia 22. Barbaria 2. Valkameria 3. Clerodendrum 3. Thunbergia 1. Vitex 6. Amazonia 1. Avicennia 1. Collumnia 1. Acanthus 3. Melianthus 1.

Tetradynamia. 3 Genera have been added to this class.—Pugionium 1; the Bunias cornuata Lin. Cakile 2; the one is the Bunias Cakile, and the other the Isatis Ægyptiaca Lin.

165 New Species have been added to this class.

Siliculosæ—Myagrum 3. Bunias 4. Crambe 4. Isatis 1. Subularia 1. Draba 9. Lepidium 9. Thlapsi 1. Cochlearia 3. Iberis 7. Alyssum 12. Peltaria 1. Biscutella 4. *Siliquosæ*—Dentaria 4. Cardamine 8. Sisymbria 25. Erisymum 8. Chionanthus 16. Heliophila 3. Hesperis 4. Arabis 9. Turritis 5. Brassica 12. Sinapis 6. Raphanus 4. Cleome 2.

Monadelphia. 10 New genera have been added to this class. *Triandria*—Galaxia 3; the G. ovata is the Ixia galaxia Lin.; and the G. graminæa is the Ixia fugacissima of Lin. *Pentandria*—Erodium 5; one of which, viz. E. ciconium, is the Geranium ciconium Lin.; the Erodium moschatum, is the Geranium moschatum Lin.; and the E. chium, E. guttatum, E. glaucophylum, E. incarnatum, E. arduinum, E. malacoides, E. maritimum, belong to the genus Geranium of Lin. with the same trivial names. *Heptandria*—Pelargonium 120; one of the two genera into which the Geranium was divided, the Pelargonium, contains 81 new species. *Octandria*—Connarus 7. The C. Asiaticus is the C. monocarpus Lin.

246 New species of former genera have been added to this class.—*Triandria*—Sisyrinchium 6; one of which, the S. anceps, is the S. Bermudiana Lin. Ferraria 2. *Pentandria*—Waltheria 3. Hermannia 19. Melochia 7. Passiflora 19. *Decandria*—Hugonia 2. Geranium 13. *Enneandria*—Brownea 3. *Dodecandria*—Monsonia 2. Helicteris 2. *Polyandria*—Carolinia 1.

Bombax 2. Sicta 7; one of which, the S. dioica in the Syst. Veg. is the Napæa scabra, and in the Sp. Pl. the Napæa dioica; and the S. hastata is the variety β of the S. cristata Lin. Malachra 4. Althæa 5. Malva 28. Lavatera 4. Malope 2. Urena 5. Gossypium 5. Hybiscus 36. Stuartia 1. Gordonia 3. Camellia 1. Gustavia 1.

Diadelphia. 23 New genera have been added to this class. *Decandria*—Amerimnum 5; one of which, the A. ebenus, is the Aspathulus ebenus of Lin. Rudelphia 2: one of them is the Erythrina planisiliqua Lin. Lebeckia 8; the L. contaminata, sepiaria, and cytesoides, are of the Genus Spartium, with the same trivial names. Rafwia 14; four of which, viz. the R. perfoliata, amplexicaulis, triflora, and opposita, belong to the Genus Crotolaria, with the same trivial names. Teramnus 2; one of them is the Dolichos uncinatus Lin. Stylosanthus 5; one of them, the S. procumbens, is the Hedysarum hamatum Lin.; and the S. elatior is the Trifolium triflorum Lin. Hallia 8; one of which, viz. the H. cordata, is the Glycine monophylla Lin. Dorycinium 3; one, the D. monspeliense, is the Lotus Lorycinium Lin.

754 New Species of former genera have been added to this class. *Hexandria*—Fumaria 16; one of which, the F. Haleri, is the F. bulbosa Lin.; and the F. parviflora is the F. spicata Lin. *Octandria*—Polygata 39. Securidaca 1. *Decandria*—Nissolia 1. Dallergia 5. Pterocarpus 3. Erythrina 8. Piscidia 2. Borbonia 2. Spartium 11. Genista 12. Aspathulus 37. Ulex 1. Amorpha 1. Crotallaria 26. Ononis 41. Anthyllis 8. Lupinus 9. Phaseolus 4. Dolichos 29. Glycine 30. Clitoria 1. Orobus 2. Lathyrus 16. Vicia 25. Ervum 1. Liparia 7. Cytisus 12. Geoffroya 2. Rebinia 12. Colutea 8. Glycyrrhiza 2. Coronilla 11. Ornithopus 1. Hippocrepis 1. Scorpiurus 1. Æschynomine 4. Hedysarum 59. Indigofera 25. Galega 23. Phaca 5. Astragalus 12; one of them, viz. the A. poterium, is the variety β of the A. tragacantha Lin. Psoralia 10. Trifolium 25. Lotus 12. Trigonella 6. Medicago 15.

Polyadelphia. 2 New genera have been added to this class. *Dodicandria*—Abroma 2; the A. angusta is the Theobroma angusta Lin.

64 New species have been added to this class. *Decandria*—Theobroma 1. *Icosandria*—Citrus 2. Melaleuca 9. *Polyandria*—Symplocos 1. Hypericum 49. Ascyrum 2.

Syngenesia. 71 New genera have been added to this class. *Æqualis*—Arnopogon 4; one, the A. asper, is the Tragopogon asperum Lin. Helmintia 1; the Picris echioides Lin. Rothia 3; one, viz. the R. cheiranthifolia, the Andryala sinuata of the Sp. Pl. and the variety β of the Andryala integerrifolia

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of the Syst. Veg.; and the R. runcinata is the Andryala integerrifolia of the Syst. Veg. Hedypnois 5; one of which, the H. monspeliensis, is the Hyoseris Hedypnois Lin.; and the H. Rhagadiloides is the Hyoseris rhagadiloides Lin. Krigia 1; the Hyoseris virginica Lin. Vernonia 4; of which the V. prælta and V. glauca are the Serratula prælta and glauca Lin. The V. anthelmintica is the Conyza anthelmintica Lin. Liatris 8; of which the scariosa and spicata are the Serratida scariosa et spicata Lin. Acarna 7; one of them, the A. gummifera, is the Atractylis gummifera Lin.; and the A. cancellata is the Atractylis cancellata Lin. Onoseris 2; the one is the Atractylis purpureata, and the other A. Mexicana Lin.; the specific names of which have not been changed. Stobœa 9. The S. atractyloides is the Carlina atractyloides Lin. Lavinia 2; the one, viz. the decumbens, is the Coluta verbesina Lin.; and the other the Verbesina Lavinia Lin. Kleinia 4; of which the K. perophyllum is the Cacalia perophyllum Lin.; and the K. suffruticosa is the Cacalia suffruticosa Lin. Mikania 14; of which the M. cordiflora, and the laurifolia, are the Catalia cordiflora et laurifolia Lin.; the rest are of the Genus Eupatorium, with his own descriptions, except one, viz. the Chenopodifolia, which is a new species. Balsamita 4; one of which, the B. virgata, is the Cetula grandis Lin. *Superflua*—Elychrysum 25; 16 of which are of the Genus Xeranthemum, with the same trivial names. *Frustranea*—Lapeirousia 1, the Osmites calycina of Lin. Didelta 2; the one, viz. the carnosa, is the Plymna carnosa, and the other is the spinosa of the same genus. Mussinia 6; one of which, the M. uniflora, is the Gorteria uniflora Lin. Berckheya 22; of which, the B. incana is the Gorteria fruticosa of the Sp. Pl.; and the Atractylis fruticosa of the Syst. Veg.; and the Gorteria asteroides of the Lin. Suppl. The B. obovata is the Gorteria spinosa Lin.; the B. squarrosa is the Gorteria squarrosa Lin.; the B. cetosa, ciliaris, and hispida, are the Gorteria cetosa, ciliaris, and hispida Lin.; the B. carlinoides and the cynaroides are the Gorteria barbata and herbacea Lin. *Segregata*—Brotera 1; the Carthamus corymbosus Lin. Rolandra 1; the Echinops fruticosus Lin.

1168 New species of former genera have been added. *Æqualis*—Tragopogon 5. Scorzonera 21. Sonchus 18. Lactuca 13; one of them, the L. crispa, is the variety γ of the L. sativa of Lin. Prenanthes 21; one, the P. rubicunda, is the variety β of the Prenanthes alba Lin. Liontodon 4. Aspargia 11. Thrincia 1. Picris 4. Hieracium 38. Cropis 30; of which, the C. scariosa is the variety β of the C. vesicaria Lin.; and the C. sprengeriana is the Hieracium sprengerianum Lin. Andryala 4. Hyoseris 5; one of which, the H. prenanthoides, was the Tragopogon

Virginicum Lin. Hypochoeris 2. Lapsana 2. Catananche 1. Cichorium 2. Scolymus 1. Arctium 1, the variety β of the A. lappa Lin. Serratula 11; one of which, the S. discolor, is the variety β and γ of the S. alpina Lin. Carduus 16. Cnicus 27. Onopordum 5. Cynara 4. Carlina 5. Atractylis 1. Carthamus 7. Spilanthes 3. Bidens 7. Cacalia 15. Ethulia 2. Eupatorium 42. Kuhnia 1. Ageratum 1. Pteronea 10. Stæhilina 2. Chrysocoma 6. Tarchonanthus 2. Calea 3. Santolina 3; one of which, the S. viridis, is the variety γ of the S. rosmarinifolia. Athanasia 5. *Superflua*—Tanacetum 9. Artemisia 48. Gnaphalium 84. Xeranthemum 2; one, viz. the X. inapertum, is the variety β of the X. annuum, and the X. Orientale the γ of annuum of Lin. Baccharis 6. Conyza 62. Erigeron 19. Tussilago 13; one of which, the T. lyrata is the variety β of the T. anandria Lin.; another, the T. albicans, is the Leontidon tomentosum Lin.; and the T. discolor is the variety β of the T. alpina Lin. Senecio 70. Aster 63. Solidago 27. Mutesia 10. Cineraria 32; of which, the campestris and longifolia are the varieties β of the C. integerrifolia, and the γ of the C. alpina Lin. Inula 9. Arnica 14. Deronicum 4. Perdicium 8. Helenium 2. Bellis 1. Tagetes 5. Pectis 2. Leysera 7. Zinnia 3. Chrysanthemum 12. Pyrethrum 16. Cotula 10. Anacylus 1. Anthemis 20. Achillea 29. Amelius 2 Eclipta 3. Siegesbeckia 2. Verbosina 7; one of them, the V. mutica, is the anthemis Americana Lin. Buphthalmum 9. *Frustranea*—Helianthus 9. Rudbeckia 4. Corcopsis 16. Osmites 1. Gorteria 4. Centaurea 56; one of which, the C. suaveolens, is the variety β of the C. moschata Lin. *Necessaria*—Milleria 2. Silphium 5. Melampodium 1. Unxia 1. Calendula 16. Arctotis 48. Osteospermum 8. Othona 9. Hippia 1. Eriocephalus 1. Iva 2. *Segregata*—Elephantopus 4. Oedera 1. Echinops 2. Stoebe 8.

Gynandria. 20 New genera have been added to this class. *Monandria*—Habenaria 2; one of which, *viz.* the H. macroceratilis, is the Orchis habenaria Lin. Pterygodium 6; five of which, the alatum, catholicum, volucris, caffrum, atralum, were formerly of the genus Ophrys Lin. with the same trivial names. Disperis 5; two of which, the capensis and villosa, were of the genus Arethusa, with the same trivial names; and one, the secunda, formerly Ophrys circumflexa Lin. Corycium 4; one, the orabanchoides, formerly the satyrium orabanchoides of Lin. Neotia 15; two of which, the spiralis and repens, were formerly the Ophrys spiralis, and satyrium repens Lin. Epipactis 14; of which, the latifolia was the Serapias latifolia in the Syst. Veg.; and in the Sp. Pl. the variety α of the Serapias Helleborine. The

palustris is the Serapias longifolia of the Syst. Veg.; and in the Sp. Pl. the variety γ of the longifolia. The pallens is the Serapias grandiflora in the Syst. Veg.; and in the Suppl. the Serapias Lonchephyllum, the Ensifolia in the Suppl. is the S. xyphephyllum, and the variety β of the S. grandiflora in the Syst. Veg. The rubra is the S. rubra Lin.; the Nidus avis is the Ophrys Nidus avis Lin.; the ovata, cordata, and camtschatia are of the genus Ophrys, with the same trivial names. Malaxis 13. The monophyllus, palludosa, lilifolia, and iococtii, were formerly of the genus Ophrys of Lin. with the same trivial names; and the caudata, which is the Epidendrum caudatum Lin. Cymbidium 61. The coccineum, lineare, nodosum, scriptum, cucullatum, alcifolium, ovatum, guttatum, juncifolium, furvum, tenuifolium, pusillum, and ensifolium, were formerly of the genus Epidendrum with the same trivial names; the pulchellum and altum are the Limodorum tuberosum and altum Lin. The giganteum, tubulare, pedicellatum, and aculeatum, were formerly of the genus Satyrium, with the same trivial names; the Corallorhizon, formerly Ophrys Corallorhizon Lin. Vanilla 3; the Aromatica and Angustifolia, formerly Epidendrum vanilla, and the variety β of the same. Aerides 7; the Retusum and Arachnites, formerly the Epidendrum retusum and Flos aeris of Lin. Dendrobium 25; of which the carinatum, graminifolium, ruscifolium and moniliforme, were formerly of the genus Epidendrum, with the same trivial names. Stelis 9; Ophioglossoides, the Epidendrum ophioglossoides Lin. Stylidium 3.

Diandria. 145 New Species have been added to this class. Orchis 40; of which, the tephrosonanthes variegata and fusca, were the Orchis militaris, the variety γ of the Orchis militaris, and the β and ∂ of the same. Disa 12. Satyrium 8. Ophrys 14. Serapias 1. Arethusa 2. Epidendrum 20. Limodorum 19. *Diandria*—Cipripedium 9; of which the pubescens, spectabile, and guttatum were the varieties β, γ, and ∂ of the C. calceolus Lin. Gunnera 2. Aristolochia.

Monoecia. 41 New Genera have been added to this class. *Triandria*—Zeugites 1, the Apluda Americanus Lin. Scleria 25; of which the S. Hagellum is the Carex lithospermum Lin. Comptonia 1, the Liquidambar asplenifolium Lin. *Tetandria*—Empleurum 1, the Diosma unicapsularis Lin. Bochmeria 12; the cylindrica, spicata, alienata, interrupta, rubescens, were formerly the Utrica cylindrica, spicata, alienata, interrupta and arborea Lin; and the B. ramiflora is the Caturus ramiflorus Lin. Diotis 1; the Axyris ceratoides Lin. *Pentandria*—Franseria 2; one of them, viz. artemisioides, the Xanthium fruticosum Lin. *Hexandria*—Bactris 2; one of which, the minor, is the Cocos guinarsis Lin. *Polyandria*—Castanea 2; the one the Fagus castanea,

and the other the F. pumila Lin. Caladium 15; of which, the C. ovatum, esculentum, sagittifolium, seguinum and auritum, are species of the genus Arum of Lin., with the same trivial names. *Monadelphia*—Sapium 3; the aucuparium and ilicifolium are the Hippomane biglandulosa and spinosa Lin.

640 New species have been added to this class. *Monandria*—Cynomorium 3. Ambrosinia 1. Zostera 3. Chara 5. Artocarpus 2. Casuarina 4. *Diandria*—Lemna 1. *Triandria*—Typha 2. Sparganium 1. Zea 1. Tripsacum 2. Coax 2. Olyra 2. Carex 61. Tragia 8. *Tetrandria*—Najas 1. Sicca 1. Alnus 3. Buxus 1. Uretica 49. Morus 2. *Pentandria*—Xantheum 1. Umbrosia 5. Amaranthus 10. *Hexandria*—Zizania 3. Pharus 2. Guettarda 5. Cocos 4. *Polyandria*—Myriaphyllum 3. Sagittaria 5. Begonia 21; one of which, the rotundifolia, is the variety β of the B. obliqua Lin. Poterium 3. Quercus 59, of which the virens is the variety β of the Q. phellus Lin. Juglans 6. Fagus 2. Betula 11. Carpinus 2. Corylus 3. Platinus 2. Liquidambar 1. Arum 8. Caryota 1. *Monadelphia*—Pinus 23. Thuja 1. Cupressus 2. Plukenetia 1. Dalechampia 9. Acalypha 32. Croton 52. Jatropha 10. Ricinus 8. Agyneja 2. Phyllanthus 31. Stillingia 1. Areca 9. Trichosanthes 7. Momordica 5. Cucurbita 7. Cucumis 4. Bryonia 22. Sycyos 2.

From the judgment and accuracy displayed by M. Willdenow, in the part of the *Species Plantarum* which has already been published, we are persuaded that the Botanical World will expect with impatience the other Three Classes that are wanting to complete the System.

ART. VI. *The Travels of Bertrandon de la Brocquière, First Esquire-Carver to Philip le Bon, Duke of Burgundy, during the Years* 1432, 1433. Translated from the French, by Thomas Johnes Esq.

IN the year 1432, many great Lords in the dominions of Burgundy, and holding offices under Duke Philip le Bon, made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Among them was his first esquire-carver La Brocquière, who, having performed many devout pilgrimages in Palestine, returned sick to Jerusalem, and, during his convalescence, formed the bold scheme of returning to France over land. This led him to traverse the western parts of Asia, and eastern Europe; and, during the whole journey, except towards the end of it, he passed through the dominions of the Mussulmen. The execution of such a journey, even at this day, would not be without difficulty; and it was then thought to be

impossible. It was in vain that his companions attempted to dissuade him; he was obstinate; and, setting out, overcame every obstacle; returned in the course of the year 1433, and presented himself to the Duke in his Saracen dress, and on the horse which had carried him during the whole of his journey. The Duke, after the fashion of great people, conceiving that the glory of his esquire-carver was his own, caused the work to be printed and published.

The following is a brief extract of this valiant person's peregrinations. 'After performing the customary pilgrimages, we went' says La Brocquière 'to the mountain where Jesus fasted forty days; to Jordan, where he was baptized; to the church of St Martha, where Lazarus was raised from the dead; to Bethlehem, where he was born; to the birth-place of St John the Baptist; to the house of Zachariah; and, lastly, to the holy cross, where the tree grew that formed the real cross.' From Jerusalem the first gentleman-carver betook himself to Mount Sinai, paying pretty handsomely to the Saracens for that privilege. These infidels do not appear to have ever prevented the Christian pilgrims from indulging their curiosity and devotion in visiting the most interesting evangelical objects in the Holy Land; but, after charging a good round price for this gratification, contented themselves with occasionally kicking them, and spitting upon them. In his way to Mount Sinai, the esquire-carver passed through the Valley of Hebron, where, he tells us, Adam was created; and from thence to Gaza, where they showed him the columns of the building which Samson pulled down; though, of the identity of the building, the esquire seems to entertain some doubts. At Gaza five of his companions fell sick, and returned to Jerusalem. The second day's journey in the desert the carver fell ill also,—returned to Gaza, where he was cured by a Samaritan,—and, finding his way back to Jerusalem, hired some pleasant lodgings on Mount Sion.

Before he proceeded on his grand expedition over land, he undertook a little expedition to Nazareth, hearing, first of all, divine service at the Cordeliers, and imploring, at the tomb of our Lady, her protection for his journey. From Jerusalem their first stage was Acre, where they gave up their intended expedition, and repaired to Baruth, whence Sir Samson de Lalaing and the author sallied afresh, under better auspices, to Damascus. He speaks with great pleasure of the valley where Noah built the ark, through which valley he passed in his way to Damascus; upon entering which town he was knocked down by a Saracen for wearing an ugly hat,—as he probably would be in London for the same offence in the year 1807. At Damascus, he informs us the Christians are locked up every night,—as they are in English work-houses, night and day, when they happen to be

poor. The greatest misfortune attendant upon this Damascene incarceration, is the extreme irregularity with which the doors are opened in the morning, their janitor having no certain hour of quitting his bed. At Damascus, he saw the place where St Paul had a vision. 'I saw also' says he 'the stone from which St George mounted his horse, when he went to combat the dragon. It is two feet square; and they say that, when formerly the Saracens attempted to carry it away, in spite of all the strength they employed, they could not succeed.' After having seen Damascus, he returns with Sir Samson to Baruth; and communicates his intentions of returning over land to France to his companions. They state to him the astonishing difficulties he will have to overcome in the execution of so extraordinary a project; but the admirable carver, determined to make no bones, and to cut his way through every obstacle, persists in his scheme, and bids them a final adieu. He is determined, however, not to be baffled in his subordinate expedition to Nazareth; and, having now got rid of his timid companions, accomplishes it with ease. We shall here present our readers with an extract from this part of his journal, requesting them to admire the naïf manner in which he speaks of the vestiges of ecclesiastical history.

'Acre, though in a plain of about four leagues in extent, is surrounded on three sides by mountains, and on the fourth by the sea. I made acquaintance there with a Venetian merchant called Aubert Franc, who received me well, and procured me much useful information respecting my two pilgrimages, by which I profited. With the aid of his advice, I took the road to Nazareth; and, having crossed an extensive plain, came to the fountain, the water of which our Lord changed into wine at the marriage of Archétréclin: it is near a village where St Peter is said to have been born.

'Nazareth is another large village, built between two mountains; but the place where the angel Gabriel came to announce to the virgin Mary that she would be a mother, is in a pitiful state. The church that had been there built is entirely destroyed; and of the house wherein our Lady was when the angel appeared to her, not the smallest remnant exists.

'From Nazareth I went to Mount Tabor, the place where the transfiguration of our Lord, and many other miracles took effect. These pasturages attract the Arabs who come thither with their beasts; and I was forced to engage four additional men as an escort, two of whom were Arabs. The ascent of the mountain is rugged, because there is no road: I performed it on the back of a mule, but it took me two hours. The summit is terminated by an almost circular plain of about two bow-shots in length, and one in width. It was formerly enclosed with walls, the ruins of which, and the ditches, are still visible: within the wall, and around it, were several churches, and one especially, where, although in ruins, full pardon for vice and sin is gained.

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'We went to lodge at Samaria, because I wished to see the lake of Tiberias, where it is said St Peter was accustomed to fish; and, by so doing, some pardons may be gained, for it was the ember week of September. The Moucre left me to myself the whole day. Samaria is situated on the extremity of a mountain. We entered it at the close of day, and left it at midnight to visit the lake. The Moucre had proposed this hour to evade the tribute exacted from all who go thither; but the night hindered me from seeing the surrounding country.

'I went first to Joseph's well, so called from his being cast into it by his brethren. There is a handsome mosque near it, which I entered with my Moucre, pretending to be a Saracen.

'Further on is a stone bridge over the Jordan, called Jacob's Bridge, on account of a house hard by, said to have been the residence of that patriarch. The river flows from a great lake situated at the foot of a mountain to the north-west, on which Namcardin has a very handsome castle.' p. 122–128.

From Damascus, to which he returns after his expedition to Nazareth, the first carver of Philip le Bon sets out with the caravan for Bursa. Before he begins upon his journey, he expatiates with much satisfaction upon the admirable method of shoeing horses at Damascus,—a panegyric which certainly gives us the lowest ideas of that art in the reign of Philip le Bon; for it appears that, out of fifty days, his horse was lame for twenty-one, owing to this ingenious method of shoeing. As a mark of gratitude to the leader of the caravan, the esquire presents him with a pot of green ginger; and the caravan proceeds. Before it has advanced one day's journey, the esquire, however, deviates from the road, to pay his devoirs to a miraculous image of our Lady of Serdenay, which always sweats—not ordinary sudorific matter—but an oil of great ecclesiastical efficacy. While travelling with the caravan, he learnt to sit cross-legged, got drunk privately, and was nearly murdered by some Saracens, who discovered that he had money. In some parts of Syria, Mr de la Brocquière met with an opinion, which must have been extremely favourable to the spirit of proselytism, in so very hot a country—an opinion that the infidels have a very bad smell, and that this is only to be removed by baptism. But as the baptism was according to the Greek ritual, by total immersion, Bertrandon seems to have a distant suspicion that this miracle may be resolved into the simple phenomenon of washing. He speaks well of the Turks, and represents them, to our surprise, as a very gay, laughing people. We thought Turkish gravity had been almost proverbial. The natives of the countries through which he passed pray (he says) for the conversion of Christians; and especially request that there may be never sent among them again such another terrible man as Godfrey of Boulogne. At Couhongue the caravan broke

up; and here he quitted a Mameluke soldier, who had kept him company during the whole of the journey, and to whose courage and fidelity Europe, Philip le Bon, and Mr Johnes of Hafod, are principally indebted for the preservation of the first esquire-carver.

'I bade adieu' he says 'to my Mameluke. This good man whose name was Mohammed, had done me innumerable services. He was very charitable, and never refused alms when asked in the name of God. It was through charity he had been so kind to me; and I must confess that, without his assistance, I could not have performed my journey without incurring the greatest danger; and that, had it not been for his kindness, I should often have been exposed to cold and hunger, and much embarrasssed with my horse.

'On taking leave of him, I was desirous of showing my gratitude; but he would never accept of any thing except a piece of our fine European cloth to cover his head, which seemed to please him much. He told me all the occasions that had come to his knowledge, on which, if it had not been for him, I should have run risks of being assassinated, and warned me to be very circumspect in my connexions with the Saracens, for that there were among them some as wicked as the Franks. I write this to recal to my reader's memory, that the person who, from his love to God, did me so many and essential kindnesses, was a man not of our faith.' p. 196, 197.

For the rest of the journey, he travelled with the family of the leader of the caravan, without any occurrence more remarkable than those we have already noticed;—arrived at Constantinople, and passed through Germany to the court of Philip le Bon. Here his narrative concludes. Nor does the carver vouchsafe to inform us of the changes which time had made in the appetite of that great prince,—whether veal was now more pleasing to him than lamb,—if his favourite morsels were still in request,—if animal succulence were as grateful to him as before the departure of the carver,—or if this semi-sanguineous partiality had given way to a taste for cinereous and torrefied meats. All these things the first esquire-carver might have said,—none of them he does say,—nor does Mr Johnes of Hafod supply, by any antiquarian conjectures of his own, the distressing silence of the original. Saving such omissions, there is something pleasant in the narrative of this arch-divider of fowls. He is an honest, brave, liberal man; and tells his singular story with great brevity and plainness. We are obliged to Mr Johnes for the amusement he has afforded us; and we hope he will persevere in his gentlemanlike, honourable, and useful occupations.

ART. VII. *Considerations upon the Trade with India; and the Policy of continuing the Company's Monopoly.* 4to. pp. 160. London, 1807.

PRACTICAL men usually object less to the principles of philosophers, than to their application of those principles. A just hypothesis has a wonderful property of being acceptable to mankind so long as it remains quiescent; and it is only when the machine begins to *work*, that it experiences the difficulties of resistance and collision. Strange, that general rules should be conceived to have any other use, than that of being applicable to particular cases!

At the same time, it is notorious, that there may be a philosophical, as well as a popular bigotry. Philosophers are apt to make too little account of those limitations under which alone general rules can be adapted to the various and innumerable exigencies of conduct. The minute specialties which distinguish every thing from its like, and which are properly overlooked in forming generic propositions, ought to be most scrupulously kept in view when those propositions come to be acted upon in life. Hence, perhaps, it arises, that minds accustomed to classify and generalize, are not always the fittest for turning to use their own observations. Besides this, the habit of surveying things in the gross, is apt to be allied with a certain fearlessness of consequences, and a disposition to hold cheap the risks to which all changes are liable from unforeseen circumstances. *Chance* and *change*, indeed, are as closely associated in nature, as in the sayings of the wise; nor ought we to stifle that instinctive love to *whatever is*, that animal horror of innovation, which seems bestowed upon us, as a most suitable accompaniment for our limited capacity of foresight.

Whoever considers, that the old mercantile theory is now, in speculation, completely exploded, and then reflects how small an effect, comparatively speaking, so great a change of doctrine has produced on the conduct of the commercial world, will allow, that the attachment of practical men to philosophical principles, is in a great measure of the Platonic kind. Whoever recollects, on the other side, that so sagacious and cautious a reformer as Hume, was more than inclined to number our whole system of banks and paper-credit, among the wretched devices of the theory just mentioned, * and to recommend the abolition of this system,

* Essays on Money—Balance of Trade—Public Credit.

will allow, that the wisest philosopher may build on too narrow a foundation of general principles.

How then are we to draw the line between popular and philosophical bigotry? If a practical rule be required for the purpose, a very simple one seems to result from the very state of the case. We should say to the men of practice and the men of philosophy, *Hinc vos, vos hinc, mutatis discedite partibus.* Let them, acting in the spirit of the golden rule of morals, respectively change places. We do not mean, in point of *fact*;—that would be a most melancholy exchange for the men of business;—but in imagination. When the question, for example, is, how far a particular part of our commercial policy is to be governed by any given principle which is admitted to be of general application in political economy, let the practical merchant, whose prejudices may require a departure in the specific instance from the general rule, begin with fixing his eyes rather on the authority of the rule than on its liability to exceptions; and reason rather downwards from the principle to its consequences, than upwards from the consequences against the principle. Let him act the part of wit rather than of judgment, if we are truly told that the former consists in discovering likenesses, and the latter in finding out differences. Thus, will he debar his passions from the exercise of their favourite calling,—that of *running away with his reason.* On the same occasion, let the philosopher candidly examine, whether the case before him may not successfully claim the rare honour, of being governed by a separate jurisdiction of its own. Let him endeavour to discover in it,—not indeed points to which a sophistical advocate may attach 'the thread of his verbosity,'—but grounds on which philosophical scepticism may make something of a fair stand. Let him then reconsider his general principle, and observe whether it has not been commonly laid down with too much latitude, and reasoned from with too little discrimination. Finally, let him add to his account an item, of what may be called unspecified *sundries*,—an allowance for the general hazard which attends all change, as such. Thus will he prevent the occurrence of a phenomenon peculiar to men of his profession,—that of having *his reason run away with by his passions and natural impressions.*

The practical rule which we have just delivered, seems to us so simple and excellent, that we feel quite certain of its being approved by all, and adopted by none. A bold attempt, however, to act in the spirit of it, is in our intention on the present occasion, when we are to consider the important question of the monopoly of the East India Company. Steadily keeping in view the great doctrines of commercial freedom, to which our attachment

is pretty well known, and from which, indeed, nothing short of an immediate and large share of the patronage of the Honourable Company in question could alienate us, it is our object to consider, whether any thing more is to be said for the continuance of this monopoly, than would satisfy a sturdy participator in its profits, or a mere rhetorical prize-fighter, who loves the wrong side better than the right. By pursuing this course, we hope to give our readers a fairer view of the real merits of some of the questions involved in this controversy, than, amidst the scramble for gain, they will easily obtain from the interested advocates for either party,—or possibly from both put together. At the same time, we will avoid, as far as we possibly can, indulging ourselves in the delivery of any very definite opinion on the subject, but leave the reader to solve our sceptical doubts as sceptically as he pleases.

The work which affords us the opportunity of acting a part so sublimely philosophical, though probably not the best to which the progress of this dispute will give birth in favour of an open trade, is quite powerful enough to affect the monopolists with some portion of alarm. It is a fierce, animated, and ingenious, rather than a very masterly, attack on the East India Company. It bespeaks in the author a very competent acquaintance with Adam Smith, and a pretty extensive, though in some points, apparently, an inaccurate knowledge of the details of East Indian affairs. The last particular, however, we beg to confess, that we mention, if not doubtingly, yet with a proper consciousness of our own very inadequate reading on the subject. The connoscenti have, as we understand, agitated a question which strikes us as supremely unimportant, Whether the author is or is not a *nabob?* If a writer states truly, and reasons rightly, it seems to be a very idle inquiry, whether he is the importer or the mere retailer of the wares which he offers to the public. At the same time, we can perceive no harm in our suggesting it to be probable, that it is only the latter of these two characters which can with justice be ascribed to this gentleman. To torture the reader with proofs in favour of this idea, would be a culpable waste of letter-press, especially as some of these may collaterally appear in the sequel of our criticism. The only one we shall here notice, is somewhat amusing. The single passage in the book which bespeaks any thing like a claim, on the part of the author, to the credit of a personal acquaintance with the East Indies, is the following.

'It is believed, that many articles of the first necessity might be cultivated in our Indian territories. For instance, I am positively assured, *and indeed partly know the fact*, that hemp of an excellent quality, and to any extent, might be raised in India, and might be brought to Europe,' &c. &c. p. 53.

When a writer is eager, by a sort of *half-hint* like this, to awaken a vague suspicion of his speaking from personal observation, it seems reasonable to conclude, that if he could have preferred a less ambiguous title to the reputation of originality, he would hardly have forfeited his claim by *laches*. After this, we may almost venture, in a similar spirit of important obscurity, to say, that we believe, '*and indeed partly know the fact*,' that our author has never crossed the Line.

This is one of those penmen who would write worse if they had a better temper; and who remind us of a torrent that is the more mischievous for rolling along with it a charge of mud and stones. Never was there a publication which breathed less of that honied adulation for which the East is renowned, than that which is now before us; and for this reason, among others, we can scarcely believe that it could possibly have proceeded from the polite pen of an Anglo-Orientalist. At least, on such a supposition, the author has certainly thrown away very little gratitude on his worthy patrons in Leadenhall Street. We doubt, indeed, greatly, whether 'the Honourable the East India Company Bahadur,'—whose fame extends over the whole earth,'—'the wise as Solomon, rich as Crœsus, generous as Hatim, invincible as Secunder,' and every thing as every body,—have received so much blunt language from all the Rajahs and Princes 'Bahadur' whom they have deposed or created, as are here compressed into a thin quarto, by an author who, for any thing that appears, may be a mere trader on the capital of his wits. 'Malignity,'—'corporation of jobbers,'—'abominable spirit of monopoly;' these and many others of the same cast are the titles of ceremony with which he usually salutes the masters of India; to say nothing of the masked battery of irony, which occasionally opens upon those personages with such discharges as 'patriotic souls!'—'enlightened gentlemen!' &c. &c. The writer strongly reprobates the abusive and dictatorial language held by the Directors in their 'Third Report.' If the charge be just (and, not having had access to the paper in question, we are compelled to take the fact upon trust), we rejoice that the Directors have been disturbed in their monopoly of abuse, by an interloping competitor who really bids fair to beat them out of that market.

In delivering a few observations on this complicated question, we will adopt the usual partition of it; which we find to be also adopted by the author of these considerations. This divides the *commercial* from the *political* department of the subject. The Company *trade* with India; and they *rule* it. The division, however, between the two departments, is not, in all respects, absolutely marked; yet we know not that a better could have been

found; and, at all events, this has now the sanction of use in its favour.

The commercial part of our inquiry will be directed to some consideration of the relative advantages with which a commercial concern may be conducted by a chartered company of merchants, on the one hand, and by private adventurers on the other. Here we must, in some measure, restate arguments pretty well known; but this it is not our purpose to do, unless when they strike us as requiring either to be illustrated or to be qualified. It will be necessary to bring up the rear of our theoretical remarks with references to facts.

Politically, the administration of the East India Company may be viewed, with regard both to its effects on the welfare and happiness of our Asiatic fellow-subjects, and to its effects at home on the constitution. These two views it will be requisite to combine; and, no less so, to compare the influence of the present system in both directions, with what may be augured respecting the influence of the systems most likely to contest the honour of superseding it, in the event of its abolition.

We ought, perhaps, by way of preface, to take some notice of a topic, on which the author before us is particularly animated,—the origin and early history of the commercial association with which he is so much offended. This, however, seems to us most superfluous. We are told, that the early India Company made good its establishment under favour of the intense commercial ignorance generally prevalent at the period of its institution. Be it so. But, that those who patronized the institution were ignorant, does not necessarily prove the institution to be bad. The Bank of England, the most useful of all commercial organs, was instituted in times of ignorance; and, if the reader will take the trouble to turn over the history of its formation, he will find it difficult to determine, whether the arguments of its supporters at that period, or those of its opponents, were the more absurd. We are also informed, that the early India Company maintained its ground only by the most scandalous jobbing and bribery. Be this also true. A similar truth may be predicated of the union of Scotland and England.

Further, we do not think our author's representations on this subject quite fair. He quotes these stories of jobbing and bribery partly out of Anderson, without ever hinting to his readers, that Anderson, one of the most enlightened, surely, of the old commercial school, is a staunch advocate for the monopoly of the East Indian trade. Anderson, however, was far from singular in this predilection. Postlethwayt may also be mentioned,—a man

of liberality, and by no means incapable of *thinking away* his prejudices. *

Proceeding to consider the first, which is the purely commercial, part of this question, we will suppose that our readers are acquainted with the observations which it has drawn from Dr Smith, or, at least, that they will take instantaneous measures to verify our conjectures, by poring over every tittle of those observations, before they proceed with this humble commentary upon them. Like other commentators, however, we occasionally quarrel with our text. We could wish that Dr Smith had at the outset conceded, as it would have cost him but little to concede, the advantage that may, in some cases, result from planting an infant trade in the nursery-ground of an exclusive company. In the fifth book, however, of his work, he admits, that 'instances are conceivable, in which a *temporary* monopoly of this kind may be vindicated upon the same principles upon which a like monopoly of a new machine is granted to its inventor, and that of a new book to its author.' †

The present question, however, is a widely different one. It is not, Whether an exclusive Company can be *ever* useful? but, Whether it can be *for ever* useful?—not, Whether a patent may be advantageously granted to the first adventurers in a particular line of trade? but, Whether that patent should not, after a season, expire? To retail the reasonings of Dr Smith on this head would be absurd; but we may be forgiven for attempting to mould some part of them into a shape more directly fitted to the present state of the controversy.

That it is for the advantage of every nation to lay out on any particular trade as much capital as can be profitably vested in it, is a proposition which the great author just named has pretty fully illustrated; but he has not particularly supported it against the common objection bottomed on a supposed distinction between a trade of foreign consumption and a home trade. It being admitted, that the competition incident to an open trade would raise the prices of Indian commodities in India, and lower them in Europe, the champions of monopoly assert, that this fall of profits, however advantageous to this nation, on the supposition of the commodities imported from India being sold at home, must be the reverse of advantageous to it, when (as is now the case) they are

* Mr Clarkson tells us, that, from having been a champion for the African slave-trade, Postlethwayt became, what his dictionary evinces him to have been, one of the strenuous opponents of that system of murder disguised in the garb of commerce.

† Book V. ch. 1.

mostly reexported for foreign consumption. In the latter case, they contend, that the foreign consumer must reap the whole advantage, and that at the expense of the English trader. This argument appears to have been first employed by Child, in the year 1677;* it has since been restated by authors of note; and, as we collect from the publication before us, is still built upon by the East India Directors. Fully, therefore, as its fallacy may be implied in several parts of the Wealth of Nations, we shall endeavour to deduce a direct refutation of it from the principles of that work. The present author, it must be observed, fights it only with the weapon of contempt; a weapon which, though perhaps more painful than that of argument, is unfortunately less effective; as a rusty knife may mangle, but will inflict a less deadly wound than a stilletto.

All trade is carried on for the mutual benefit of the traders on the one hand, and the consumers on the other; and when it is left free, this mutual benefit both guides and limits its extension. At the first emancipation, indeed, of a particular traffic that has been monopolized, the sudden rush of capital into it may reduce its profits too low; but the first persons to perceive this evil, when it occurs, will obviously be those that suffer by it; and, some portion of this redundant capital being withdrawn into more hopeful employments, the evil will thus correct itself. When, therefore, a trade is permitted to expand itself quietly to the utmost, we may depend on it, that such expansion is beneficial to both the parties concerned, that is, to the trading world, and the consuming world. The profits upon it are, indeed, reduced; but then they are not so much reduced, as the capital invested in it is augmented; for profit is always the measure of the spontaneous investment of capital in a particular channel. Individual traders make less, but *the trade* gain more: *Privatus illis census erit brevis, Communis magnus.* Now, when the traders and the consumers both live in the same country, then, on an enlargement of the trade, the country gains both ways; in the increased accommodation to the consumers, and in the increased gains of the commercial world. When, as in the case before us, the traders live here, and the consumers are foreigners, then, though both parties gain by extending the trade, this country benefits only by the increased gains of the traders; but still, all this is clear gain. True it is, that, on this supposition, the argument for laying open, and consequently extending the trade, is only half as strong as it is on the former; but then, let it be also noted, that, on this supposition, the argument for pursuing the trade at all, is only half as strong as it is on the for-

* See Anderson in anno 1677.

mer. Commerce can never be so profitable when it merely ministers to foreign consumption, as when it is employed at home; but it will every where be most lucrative when left to itself; and will seek employment abroad, only when home cannot profitably employ it.

Might we object to any other portion of Dr Smith's reflections on this subject, as not being fully perfected and rounded, we should perhaps regret, that he had not more scientifically explained the causes from which it happens, that an exclusive company carries on business to less advantage than the private merchant. Some of his expressions might induce an unguarded reader to suppose, that there was a real, as well as a fancied, opposition between the interests of the India Company, considered as merchants and as sovereigns; that it was really advantageous to a company to raise its profits, by narrowing its own market; and that those companies who have pursued this plan, instead of having miserably mistaken, or grossly neglected their own interest, had only too eagerly consulted it.

The truth is, as the wise need not be informed, that it is as certainly the ultimate interest of a body of monopolists, as of a set of private traders, to trade as cheaply and extensively as possible, and to invest in their concern, every atom of capital which it will absorb. They will evidently find it more lucrative, at the long run, to make smaller profits on a larger capital, than larger profits on a smaller capital. Those companies, therefore, who are said to have destroyed a part of the produce which they could command in India, from a dread of too much cheapening their sales in Europe, committed an absurdity, for which it was hardly worth their while to be so wicked. Corn, rice, and whatever constitutes the staff of life, have, indeed, the property of the Sibylline books offered to the Roman monarch; and any falling off in the ordinary supply of them, occasions a far more than proportional rise in their price. Had then the monopolists alluded to, been importers of such articles as these, they might have found a temporary advantage in inflaming the demand for their merchandizes, by suddenly stinting the supply, and thus starving their customers into a capitulation on their own terms. Even this, however, is ultimately a pitiful and short-sighted policy; but since mace and ginger are not bread-fruit,—since nobody but a Fakeer would chuse to live upon cloves,—and since a nutmeg is slow poison; how childish for a dealer in these commodities to play with the market for them, as if they were the prime necessaries of life! By wasting a part of the usual produce, he only teaches the consumer to manage with less; and by destroying the plenty of an unusually propitious year, he loses the oppor-

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tunity of whetting the consumer's appetite for more. The reader will perceive, that we refer to that frightful story, so appalling to us in our childhood, of the Dutch and their spiceries: a story exemplifying such a flight of stupidity, as we should naturally expect from a Dutchman, in any case where trade was not the thing concerned. It is like a man putting out one of his eyes, in order to strengthen the sight of the other.

But it must not be imagined, that we disbelieve this horrible story; and it is most certain, that chartered companies are not apt to push forward their commercial dealings with that vigour which characterizes the speculations of the private capitalist. Why is this, if it be as certainly, as obviously, and as greatly, their interest to do so? We answer, that it is as certainly their interest to do so, but not perhaps as greatly, nor as obviously.

It is not *equally* their interest, because their charter secures them from the dread of competitors, which, in the mind of the private trader, forms a powerful ally to the simple desire of bettering his condition. The private trader is pushed forward by two impulses,—the hope of gaining, and the fear of losing. The chartered monopolist, for a long time at least, feels the hope without the fear; and, having the race to himself—though he knows that the faster he runs, the sooner he shall entitle himself to the prize—is yet equally convinced, that he cannot lose it, even if he walks. It is true that, in this state of things, he sometimes unexpectedly perceives an interloping rival at his heels; but his habits of oscitancy and confidence are now not easily shaken off; and the interloper being better seasoned (as the jockies would say), and less on his haunches, *slips him*, while the monopolist follows majestically behind, delighting the beholders with his magnificent curvettings and measured fire.

Besides, commercial exertion and alertness are not so *obviously* the interest of any large corporate society, chartered or not, as of the private merchant; that is, they are not so obviously the interest of the individuals composing such a corporation. A member of a numerous association, can seldom have the sensation that every thing depends on his single arm. Man, commercially considered, is generally actuated by two feelings; the love of present pleasure, inclining him to indolence,—and the love of future pleasure, propelling him to action. Where action, however, is not evidently and directly connected with some future advantage, he will feel its necessity but faintly, and enter upon it with slackness. In large bodies, although the profits of all directly depend on the exertions of all, the individual profits of each man are not so immediately dependent on his individual exertion; and the love of ease soon makes the individual discover

this fact. He is one of many; the labour of one will hardly be missed, if the many labour,—while, whatever the many gain, the one will have his full share of it. This is undoubtedly the case with all very large societies, of whatever kind, that have coalesced for the attainment of a common object; although, to determine when it is that a combination becomes too large to be vigorous,—to find the point at which the inconvenience of weight begins to overbalance the advantage of size,—would be about as hopeless an undertaking, as to determine how many sheep make a flock, or how many soldiers an army.

The general explanation, which has been just offered, of the lassitude too often characteristic of exclusive corporations, appears to us more satisfactory than that which, referring particularly to the India Company, accounts for their alleged feebleness in trade, by supposing that their heads have been turned by their acquisition of territorial power and kingly state. All is not explained, by telling us, in seemly epigrams, that this great company stands behind the counter, clad in purple, like Prince Simoustapha in the Arabian Nights; and, while it rules with the *cittish* spirit of a trader, trades with the splendid profusion of a sultan. How will this solution account for the ruin of many a chartered body of merchants, which has enjoyed no territorial sovereignty, nor possessed any thing of royalty, but its extravagance? At the same time we grant, that even this is a better solution than that of the author before us, who has entered on the subject in a passage, the only metaphysical one, and the worst, that his book contains.

'Indeed, the very principle of the human mind, which prompts men to the pursuit of commerce, seems to make it impossible that it can flourish under the management of a company. The feelings of the merchant have not changed since the days of Horace—

"*Impiger extremos curris mercator ad Indos*
Per mare pauperiem fugiens, per saxa, per ignes."

'Yet if the principle of trade be selfish, it is strong because it is selfish. No one, however, doubts that the pursuit of gain may be liberalized into an honourable employment. Its importance, at least, cannot be questioned. He who, for his own advantage, promotes the exchange of commodities between different countries, or different parts of the same country, is a benefactor of the human race; for he promotes that which is the parent of industry, and the source of enjoyment. But that active love of gain which inspires exertion, and which regulates its direction, is properly an *individual* sentiment. It cannot animate bodies, because in bodies there is no real moral personality. Though, in the fiction of law, a corporation may be a person, it but faintly resembles the individual character, and never does approach to it but mischievously. If such bodies were animat-

ed with the feelings of real persons, they would be too powerful: they would be Brobdignagians among the Lilliputians. It would be impossible to live near them. They are only tolerable when they are torpid and impotent.

'Of all undertakings, in which men can engage in common, trade, too, is that for which perhaps an association of great numbers is least fitted. The interest is too dispersed; and the managers, if they have no interest distinct from that of the other members, neglect their duty. An undertaking, the object of which is not gain, may succeed under a common management. Political associations, in which a social feeling, an *esprit du corps*, may exist, can prosecute their ends successfully; but the love of gain is not a *social* sentiment. If gain then be the object, success is impossible, because the body never can be animated by that which is an individual feeling; and if the undertaking be of imperial magnitude, who can expect success?' p. 9, 10.

There is a mixture of truth in these remarks, which renders the operation of cutting to pieces their many fallacies a task of some delicacy. A vague notion of that dissipation of interest which occurs in a great society, is here mixed up with a confused conception of the selfish nature of avarice, and with just so much knowledge of what is called the selfish theory in morals, as may suffice for the misunderstanding of it. Whether the love of gain be resolvable into the love of pleasure, or the love of power, or both, or neither, we will not here think of inquiring: whatever be the *philosophy* of the thing, its *natural history* is plain. That wish for individual gratification which we presume to be meant by 'the love of gain,' leads men to unite together, on this simple principle, that they find individual gratification to be best attained by the exertion of common efforts. In this manner, as the love of gain is one great cement of society in general, so it has produced innumerable junctions of men into smaller societies; such as, banks, guilds, gangs, combinations, dock companies, insurance offices, trading companies, and a host of fraternities, more or less judicious, and more or less effective, but all held together chiefly by the lucrative principle;—proof, for this very reason, against the assaults of philosophers, pamphleteers, and reviewers; and, however frangible, not easily to be disunited by being gravely assured that they cannot feel the love of gain, and therefore are already in a state of disunion.

Having despatched all that we had to offer on one very important branch of the present question, we come to another of fully equal importance, although involving considerations that seem never yet to have been distinctly noticed. What is the measure of the inertness too commonly attendant on a chartered trade, and how far is that inertness likely to go? An exclusive company is not likely to be so energetic in conducting commerce as

a nation of private adventurers; but by what interval, in all probability, will *its* energy fall short of *theirs?*

It is evident how strongly these questions bear on an inquiry into the nature of a system which is mainly defended on the score of its political utility; for if commercial experience is to be sacrificed for a political compensation, it is necessary, before we can pronounce on the adequacy of the compensation, to ascertain the extent of the sacrifice. 'If there would be a manifest absurdity' (says Dr Smith) 'in turning towards any employment, thirty times more of the capital and industry of the country, than would be necessary to purchase from foreign countries an equal quantity of the commodities wanted, there must be an absurdity, though not altogether so glaring, yet exactly of the same kind, in turning towards any such employment a thirtieth, or even a three hundredth part more of either.' All this is undeniable; but it is of some moment to determine the magnitude of the absurdity in specific cases. Human life is nothing but a compromise of advantages; and as we submit to a small evil for the sake of a greater good, so we may submit to a small absurdity for the sake of a superior piece of wisdom. The Navigation act is a commercial absurdity of this kind, tolerated and admired on account of its political wisdom; but if it were thirty times more absurd than it is, its political wisdom would hardly overbalance its mercantile folly. Such is the use of knowing, not only whether we lose by any given commercial arrangement, but *what* we lose by it.

We cannot, we acknowledge, conceive it possible to determine, by any general calculus, the degree to which trade is depressed below its natural level, by being placed under the guardianship of an exclusive company. The problem seems to be in all cases a *tentative* one. Reasoning, however, as we are now professedly doing, from theory, we should, on this point, stand somewhere about midway between the monopolists and the anti-monopolists. We should expect the depression to be considerable; but yet, in times like the present, not nearly so great as it appears in the representations of the common advocates of commercial liberty. These gentlemen always consider it as amounting to almost all the difference between riches and beggary: but we cannot, in fairness, believe this account of matters, and shall shortly submit to the reader the grounds of our scepticism.

It is to be observed, that the indefinite extension of a trade, which is consigned to a monopoly, is not opposed by any *physical* impossibility. Nothing is requisite, but that the monopolists shall have a distinct and vivid perception of what, as we have already observed, is undeniably their interest. An *impulse* is wanting;

an impulse, however, not arising from that prospect of imminent ruin, which, while it calls for exertion, paralyzes it,—but acting constantly, steadily, and pressingly, at a period when it may yet operate with effect.

Now, we think it may be pretty reasonably presumed, that the present times are not likely to witness a repetition of those stupid exploits of selfish rapacity which disgraced the Dutch East India Company in the dark ages of commerce and common sense; and that, in proportion as a nation becomes enlightened and free, the various classes of its mercantile men will more plainly perceive, and more liberally consult, their true interests. And yet it would be very foolish to expect much from this *natural* acumination of the sight of an exclusive Company, were it not that, under the circumstances supposed, its perceptions will probably be much clarified by *external* illumination. In this country, for example, so considerable a corporation as the East India Company, is, by a thousand stimulants from without, pushed forward to the vigorous discharge of its commercial duties. The days are past in which it could live on a system of bribery, or on the favour of a party. It is surrounded and watched from hour to hour, both by the jealousy of friendship, and by that of enmity. It is the interest, indeed, of ministers to conciliate this powerful body; but then it is also their interest to conciliate the commercial world at large and the public. The cause of the anti-monopolists, meantime, can never want advocates, either in Parliament or out of it; and all parties act, and every part of the cause is tried, in the *open court* of public opinion,—a judge who can neither be bribed, nor deceived, nor daunted. When a Company is thus circumstanced,—inspected by the public,—elbowed on both sides by the rivalry of private interlopers,—poked forward from behind by Government, to justify the national patronage which it has received,—fronted by a formidable host of commercial writers, eloquent from discontent, and of philosophers, keen because they are poor;—when a Company, we say, is thus situated, if we allow (what will not very zealously be denied) that they are in love with their monopoly, it is hard, indeed, if they do not exert some of those efforts for its maintenance which are alone likely to be successful. They must feel the necessity of rendering their cause good, if they would have it plausible. Their inclination to *do their possible* must be perpetually strengthened; and, in this case, the inclination is itself, in a great measure, the means.

The affairs of such a Company are managed by a body of governors or directors. We will own the truth;—to a mind more habituated to the theory than to the practice of commerce, and

rather better acquainted with its principles than its sweets, the idea of the East India Director is apt to present itself under the image of an antiquated, discreet, untractable, humdrum sort of personage, whose company may with advantage be avoided. But, overcoming this little natural prejudice, and looking at matters liberally, we should certainly be disposed rather to expect that, in a country where many facilities are afforded to the development of talent, the cabinet-council of any powerful body would be likely, *cæteris paribus*, to attract to itself its due share of prudence and ability; and, in fact, we doubt not but that this is exemplified by the present Court of East India Directors. The motto of a free country is, '*potiri rerum dignissimum*;' and this principle, while it feeds the heart of the state with life, also animates and inspirits its various members. But the wiser the Court of Directors, the more liberal will be the professional character of the Company.

Another great consideration is, that these Directors have an immediate and a deep stake in the continuance, that is, in the welfare and credit, of the monopoly. However little they may be thought to take trouble for the sake of their constituents, we generally hear a good deal of their fondness for power and patronage. Now, the dullest and most mechanical understanding among them must perceive by what tenure these possessions are held. The Company, if we have rightly described their situation, are strictly on their good behaviour. If their rulers are duly impressed with a sense of this fact, (and how can they be otherwise?) it would be easy for them to act upon their conviction, and, by the adoption of a judicious policy, to transfer very considerable animation throughout the whole mass of their dependants. It is enough for a very small spot about the heart to feel, and its influence will instinctively radiate to every extremity. The agents of the Company, throughout the continent of Asia, will, on the very principle of self-interest, speedily discover, that the advancement of their fortunes and fame hinges upon the activity with which they promote the common cause.

It may be said, that we have too good an opinion of the advocates of monopolies; that these gentlemen are still apt to resort to some of those ancient commercial doctrines, which this argument appears to set out of view as obsolete; that, among other things, they still fight for the impossibility of driving a distant traffic, without the encouragement of monopoly-prices. To which we answer, that, even allowing this to be a fair account, the value of our argument, if it possess any, consists in its resting on a much more stable basis than the reasoning faculties of any person, individual or corporate. It only assumes, that men *will* act

for their own benefit if they clearly see *how*; and, however the monopolists may, to serve a turn, declaim in favour of monopoly-prices, (in truth we doubt this fact), they do dot dream of denying that it is their *own* interest to push their trade to its utmost extent. If we have not yet learned, that men may do right while they argue wrong, we are mere antediluvians, that have accidentally come into the world too late. A very sensible author, who, in the year 1701, wrote against the monopoly of the Indian trade, * actually admits, that the emancipation of it would so reduce its profits as to make it a mere losing and untenable concern. A private trader to India, who could hold this sentiment, should certainly be eager to withdraw, after a season, his capital from a country which must otherwise be its grave; yet we should be much surprised if he were to act on a conception so absurd.

We have put all this argument, in extenuation of the sins of exclusive companies, rather strongly; yet there is undoubtedly a good deal of truth in it. The influence of the checks which it supposes to be operating on the abuses of the system, acts in a manner somewhat complex; but this complexity can form no objection to them, if they only do the thing; and they cost, be it remembered, little or nothing. How far the argument is decisive of the present question, we shall not attempt exactly to determine: it certainly, however, in our humble apprehension, does not go the length of demonstrating, that an English trading company can trade as profitably as an independent merchant.

But our more elderly readers, well knowing what havoc practice is prone to make among the conclusions of a fine theory, will be now languishing for facts. In so far, however, as they may feel inclined to hear stories of the many exclusive companies that have heretofore lived and died, it is not our purpose to gratify their wishes. Our reason is this: We have no doubts respecting the real value of the facts afforded by the history of these companies, provided they were carefully sorted and judiciously turned to account; but to make such use of them, would require a far more extensive analysis, than we have the leisure or the means to undertake. With regard to the allusions that are sometimes made to them *en masse*, these are perfectly suffocating. Almost every man of common reading could, at command, gabble over the titles of a dozen companies, and four or five of them East India Companies too, that have existed, and are no more.

* Considerations upon the East India Trade, (we believe, by Mandeville), ch. 3.

But to what purpose is all this? The antimonopolist argues, that since every considerable company, except the present worshipful assembly in Leadenhall Street, has become bankrupt, this must be the natural death of companies. The monopolist argues, that since one, and that the greatest, of these companies, has sustained itself so long after the ruin of the rest, the rest must have owed their bankruptcy to mismanagement. As a barren *generality*, we know not which of these is the best.

To exemplify, by one instance, these observations. Several of the chartered bodies just referred to, have been fairly driven out of the market by private adventurers. This circumstance unquestionably supplies some strong presumptions in favour of individual adventure; but, thus nakedly put, it seems to supply little else; and that for the three following reasons.

In the *first* place, we are not convinced that the success of private traders *against* a company, is an exact measure of what would be their success *without* a company. Burke has somewhere, we think, remarked the advantages which revolutionary conspirators against a regular government derive, in the prosecution of their projects, from the very facilities of general intercourse afforded by the existence of a regular government. The observation is just, and bears, although remotely, on the subject before us. In a somewhat similar manner, the sharp-shooting marauders, thieves, and croats, in the train of an organized army, probably make more prisoners, and carry off more booty, than an equal number of the disciplined troops; but it does not follow, that any thing would be gained by disorganizing the whole army, and resolving it into a rabble of independent irregulars. Our limits will not allow us to trace out this idea into its consequences; but some of them would be found curious, and we therefore start it for the amusement of our readers.

In the *next* place, instances of the discomfiture of exclusive companies, by the prowess of independent commerce, cannot, unless they be very nicely dissected, afford instruction upon that which we have described as a main part of this question; we mean, *how far* the system of free, is cheaper than that of chartered, commerce. A man, who cannot swim, may be as effectually drowned in a horse-pond as in the Bay of Bengal; and a company may be, in time, ruined by the competition of a rival who trades cheaper by only two *per cent.*, no less than by that of him who makes a superior profit of fifty *per cent.* Something might possibly, in this particular, be inferred from the degree of rapidity with which the ruinous effects of the competition took place; but this would surely be a most coarse and unsatisfactory

rule of competition. Who would think of determining the relative weight of two bodies placed in a balance, by merely observing, with his eye, the celerity with which the heavier scale descended?

Lastly, we will simply revert, without much comment, to the observations which we have already so fully stated, with relation to the presumable difference between the situation of former chartered companies, and that of a company in the present enlightened age and country. That a system grossly and uniformly mismanaged should not be improved on the imminent approach of destruction, is not matter of surprise; it guesses the nearness of its death only from that *numbness* which disables it. It is otherwise, if it has fair, reiterated and urgent warning, while the danger is yet contingent; in this case, we may expect it to be roused; and, if deliverance be within the bounds of possibility, we need not despair. This we conceive to be a possible circumstance of discrimination between the cases of the present East India Company, and of former associations of a similar nature.

It is now necessary for us to direct the attention of our readers more particularly to the commerce of India. The great question is, whether, and how far, this commerce is capable of extension? The presumption clearly is, that, to a certain degree, it is capable of extension: But how stand the facts? and, if they accord with the presumption, what do they determine with respect to the degree in which this commerce might be extended?

We regret our inability to decide, in any thing like a satisfactory manner, these interesting inquiries. In truth, no task can be more difficult; for, how can inquiries with regard to a possible event, be completely decided, except by experiment? Conjecture, indeed, may do something; but then it must be built on the most careful observation; in the present instance, perhaps, on local observation. A diligent attention to the real effect upon India of our present mode of Indian administration; a perfect acquaintance with the character of its inhabitants; a minute knowledge of the actual steps taken by the British authorities in that quarter of the world, to promote cultivation and commerce; an extensive insight into the present commercial state of Europe; a thorough intimacy with general principles, and a habit of comprehensive reasoning,—these are some of the requisites for the task just mentioned. After this, we need hardly add, that we expected it to be but moderately performed by the trotting and galloping pen of the present author; but we certainly expected a nearer approximation to it than we have found. We hoped, at

least, for a few hard facts; instead of which, he has put us off with many hard words.

The general strain of the facts here adduced, and the corollaries of reasoning, amount to this:—Such and such articles are produced in India; and, *undoubtedly*, they would be produced in far greater quantities, 'if it were not for the dead weight of the Company, and their monopoly.' That this assertion is partly true, we have already intimated our belief; but we want to learn, how facts accord with that belief. What documents are there on the subject? What is actually doing, in the way of direct encouragement, to the growth of Indian industry? The Directors profess to send out strict annual orders to their servants in the East, enjoining a diligent search for new channels of trading adventure. Are these orders really sent? Do they arrive? Are they obeyed? Are they successful? The answer is,—*the dead weight of the Company, and their monopoly.*

It was our intention, however, to cull, if possible, out of this vast store of information, every particle which seemed capable of being turned to any profit; a work of no very great labour, excepting the toil of search; when, to our great mortification, the merest accident gave us reason for strong suspicion, that what facts the author reports, he does not report with accuracy. Chance threw into our way a printed document on the subject of the Indian hemp, about which (as has been observed) this author 'partly knows' so much. It is, like the book before us, anonymous; and far be it from us to vouch for the accuracy of either. But the document to which we refer, is very minute in all its statements, and has the air of demi-official authority. It bears the date of last year.* Now, let us compare accounts. The writer whom we are reviewing, says,

'The Company and their servants, however, *have given no facility to the proper cultivation of this article* (*Sunn* hemp), *and its introduction into this country.* On the contrary, *they have neglected or opposed* this object.'

The paper before mentioned tells us, that the Court of Directors have been at vast pains and expense, to promote the cultivation of Sunn hemp in various parts of Bengal; that 'the culture has not only been attended to by the most scientific men in India,' but the best means of dressing, and the most commodious mode of packing it, have been minutely studied, 'as, *upon reference to the voluminous records on this subject, will appear;*' that 'the East India Company have, in this country also, taken no small trouble in their endeavours to introduce it to public use, at an expense individuals could not have subjected themselves to.'

* Observations on the Sunn hemp of Bengal.

Now, the worst that can be supposed of this account, is, that it is the Company's own partial statement of their achievements; and then, we have them here laboriously recommending to public use, (for such is the whole drift of this paper), an article, the use of which 'they have *neglected or opposed.*'

Really the cause of free trade is not so desperate, as to require such lavish employment of stratagem in its support. This, however, is not the single instance of our author's inaccuracy. A detection in one instance, induced us very carefully to sift several others of his statements, which we found equally erroneous, but which our limits will not suffer us now to canvass. They refer to cotton, silk, sugar, and so forth. The conclusion is, that our author 'partly knows' a great many things.

To make him some amends, we must observe, that, on this branch of his subject, he treats with successful severity an opinion held, as he tells us, by the Directors, that British capital ought in no event to be exported to India, for the purpose of stimulating the productive powers of that country. We have not been able to examine the statements of the Directors on this point; but the opinion just quoted, seems, when delivered in all its latitude, so much at variance with their common topics of argument, and so unnecessary for their cause, that we cannot help hoping our author has here done them injustice. We can conceive cases, in which the opinion, or at least something like it, might be held, *sub modo*, with perfect impunity.

The private trade of the Americans with India is very largely discussed in this publication; we know not with what accuracy of information, but certainly with some force and plausibility. Through this tract we do not follow him, because it does not, in our apprehension, form an essential part of the debateable ground of the question. The Americans will certainly out-trade the East India Company, when we are at war, and perhaps, also, when we are at peace; but this, like the rest of the examples so often adduced in the present controversy, fails to prove the fact of a very *decided* inferiority, on the part of the Company, in commercial skill and alertness. At the same time, perhaps, it proves that the Indo-American trade should be somewhat more clogged than it is. We would not be harsh towards foreigners; but if there be fair political reasons for imposing partial restraints on a particular branch of our own commerce, we see not that it is our bounden duty to love strangers better than our own countrymen. But it is impossible for us to attend with minuteness to this part of our author's remarks; and still more preposterous would it be to waste much of our reader's time upon the state of the private Indian commerce from this country, or the encourage-

ments, be they less or more, afforded to the private traders by the Company, who seem now to have become something between a regulated and a joint-stock Company.

We ought, perhaps, to make a few comments on the state of their finances; but, without supposing him intentionally to have misrepresented any thing, we cannot trust the accuracy of our author's accounts. That a good deal of disorder now pervades the financial concerns of the India House seems generally admitted; possibly more than is admitted by the Directors; and yet, possibly, they are not so near the last stage of dilapidation as the present writer would fain persuade us. We say this, however, as much on general principles, as from particular inquiry. We know perfectly, how easy it is to prove the approaching ruin of any thing on earth, if we are only allowed to do it by calculation. The financial world seems divided into two orders of men, the *croakers* and the *boasters*. The former can demonstrate, by figures, that every nation in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America, is on the borders of bankruptcy; that as for England, she was ruined long ago; only that she has the ingenuity not to discover it, and to walk about, like some of the worthies of the Romish calendar, with her head in her hand; that the sinking-fund is only a destructive remedy against destruction; and that, whereas it was formerly thought that nothing but accumulation could save us from the ruinous consequences of war, so now, it is certain, that nothing but war saves us from the ruinous consequences of accumulation.

We need not describe the opposite sect of the boasters, as this gentleman seems in no danger of being converted by them. His accounts are gloomy in the extreme; but, without any great disposition to think very favourably of the pecuniary state of the India Company, our knowledge of his own sect, made us from the first quite sure, that he would be led to exaggerate the embarrassments under which the Company labour. An impartial representation of them, indeed, is highly desirable to the public, who have no time to turn up musty leger-books, and can hardly expect an accurate account from the newspapers. But we cannot give the praise of impartiality to this author, so far as we have had means of examining documents. Our means, however, were not quite so ample as might have been wished; but as the parliamentary papers which he has quoted, are of easy reference, we did not fail to examine these, and have found in his pages what must in fairness be considered errors of magnitude.

He says,

'Let any man, however, take the trouble to look over the accounts annually submitted to Parliament under the name of the India Bud-

get, and he will see good reason to dispute this plea; he will see that the revenues of India, up to 1802-3, for ten years, were

	L. 94,756,281
The charges - - -	83,253,417
	L. 11,502,864

—being more than eleven millions above the actual charge.' p. 62-3.

Now, we instantly took this advice, and turned over the debates * on this budget; where we find that the author omits the following diminution of this balance.

Interest on the bonded debt -	L. 8,163,218	
Supplies to Bencoolen - -	1,357,969	
		L. 9,521,187
Subtract this from the above sum of 11,502,864*l.*,		
and the remaining net revenue is only -		1,981,677

Again,

'In the Reports, in 1792, it is admitted, that there was a loss on the India exports; and there is no reason to suppose there is a profit now. Take this account, however, as it is given: there are various payments, part of which are called political; but in the whole, including every charge, and comparing the payments and profits (including in the latter the articles mentioned), there is the following balance.

Total profits - - -	L. 13,779,507
Total payments - - -	12,797,796
Total surplus in ten years -	L. 981,711

'In this account, there are many articles which are not commercial profits. Such are the profits on private trade, amounting in ten years to 1,482,056*l.*; and the amount of annuity from Government, in ten years, above 362,000*l.* Thus we have near two millions, which do not arise from trade;' &c. p. 60.

Now, on looking into this matter, it does appear to us, that the Company were not so wrong in their manner of making up this charge. By the act of the 33d Geo. III., the old duty and allowance of 7 *per cent.* paid to them on the private trade, are reduced to 3 *per cent.*, for which they bear the expense of unshipping, selling, and otherwise managing the imports in that trade; and the same act also requires them to furnish annually a certain quantity of tonnage for that trade. Paying and including in the charges deducted from their own commercethe expense incurred on account of the private trade, we should think they may fairly set the 3 *per cent.* received from the private traders against that expense; or, which is the same thing, if they deduct that expense from the profit of their own trade, the allowance which

* See Debates, 19th July 1804.

they receive on account of the private trade, may, without any great inaccuracy, be added to their account of profit.

Further, for a loan out of their commercial capital to Government, they receive an annual interest of 36,200*l*. Now, we presume that, as they charge their trade with the interest which they pay on the money they borrow from the bank and otherwise, they may bring the interest received from Government to the credit of their trade.

We have noticed other inaccuracies, which induce us to regard all these accounts of the author's with an eye of some suspicion. But we cannot descend into any further details. So far as this part of the present work goes, we do think the question still rests very much on those general grounds, in which, in the former part of our remarks, we have attempted to place it. It is certainly surprising, that India should offer so small a vent for our commerce, both of exports and imports. But the character of the people, indolent and feeble as it is, may certainly afford, in part, an explanation of this phenomenon. We think too, that the argument used by the Company, from the immemorial use of bullion in the export trade to India, by no means a contemptible one. At this moment the practice continues, of carrying silver to India for goods; and this not only on our part, but on that of all the other nations, the Americans themselves not excepted, who possess a commercial footing in those regions. This surely looks as if European commodities could not find a market of any extent in the East. Perhaps, also, some allowance should be made for the effects of the institution of *castes*. Certainly, notwithstanding a sort of latitude which is afforded to the Hindus, as Mr Colebrook informs us, these unnatural partitions seem, in practice, to be maintained with extraordinary punctilio; and one effect of this absurdity must be, that, supposing a great increase of demand for any particular species of labour, the supply cannot be furnished in time to meet it. But we have no space to develop these ideas. We shall, therefore, depend on the candour of the reader for supplying whatever he finds defective in our short statement of them. In the case of China, at least, it seems pretty certain, that no great extension of our commerce could, on any system, be effected.

We know not by what accident the commercial part of the present inquiry has occupied us much longer than we originally intended. Some attention, however, must now be paid to the political grounds on which the East India Directors defend their monopoly. This is generally thought to be the strongest part of their case; and we will, therefore, use every effort, consistent with our limits, to do it full justice: but, so far as we shall

espouse, in this discussion, the cause of monopoly, we must be allowed to do so on our own terms. The Company have the vanity to think their own existence indispensably necessary, both to the political welfare of India, and to the constitutional independence of the mother country. The commercial democrats have the sternness to maintain, that the existence of the Company is destructive to both. The parties are, as usual, both in the wrong; but, of the two, the vanity of the Company, we are inclined to think, is more nearly right than the sternness of the democrats.

The present writer seems to have felt that, on this topic, the monopolists for once happened to stand on the popular ground. Not that the remotest hint to this effect escapes him. On the contrary, he is here even unusually lofty and determined; but when we perceive an author, or any other noble animal, suddenly begin to plunge and rear, it is always a matter of inquiry, whether this happens because he has lighted on an unexpected piece of smooth turf, or because he finds his fore-feet unexpectedly subsiding into a bog? In fact, for the treatment of such a subject as this, a subject involving within its possible horizon all the principles of legislation, the author of the 'Considerations' is far too much in a hurry, and somewhat too much in a passion. A great deal may be said on his side of the question; but, till he gets older, he is hardly the man to say it.

We can afford space only for a small portion of our author's political lucubrations; and we give one which may convey a notion, as far as any single portion can do so, of the very diversified whole.

'Were the governors of India directly commissioned by the government, and responsible to it, they would be compelled to act right at their peril. At present, they act under no superior; they get orders from the Directors which they despise; they know that, between the Board of Control and the Directors, all unity of power is destroyed. They are not the servants of the King, whom they would not dare to disobey, but of the Company, whom they are ashamed to obey. In the mean time, between the India House and the Board of Control, it is impossible to decide whether a man acts by the direction of one or the other, or according to the views of the one or the other. The whole system, therefore, is of a complexity which banishes unity of principle and consistency of object. No one knows what is obeyed or disobeyed, where opposite and different masters exist. Obedience is not enforced, when the one master is afraid of giving to the rival master a right of interference, should he insist on his particular mandate. No control, therefore, exists, when the executive authority is thus stripped of its power to direct. No responsibility exists for disobedience, when there is no regular command. There is no remedy for abuse of trust, where the

administrative superiors are afraid of giving each other an advantage by preferring accusations, and when they are content to murmur, but have not courage to correct. The consequence is, that, without imputing blame to individuals, the system itself leads to disorder; and at last we see charges of malversation made, which only excite contention, without promising amendment; and justice is pursued through channels so impracticable, that thinking men must prefer the impunity of guilt to retribution so obtained.' p. 142, 143.

It cannot be denied, that those, as well as the rest of the author's sentiments on this head, are partly just, or that they are unfolded with some cleverness: but we find in them, we must say, a good deal of vulgarity, cant, and confusion. The writer lays down no very definite principles, and scarcely alludes to a single fact. He seems almost to think that this wicked Company is at the same time a grand council of the Great Mogul, grinding and chewing the immense population of Hindustan as if it were a mere betel-nut, and also a wretched knot of little petty-fogging clerks, under the orders of the Board of Control; and then, while eloquently proving that they must be the one or the other, pronounces them to be wretched governors, because they are neither. We believe, however, that we understand him; though we should not choose to say so much for himself. He has here lent a good deal of countenance, not indeed designedly, to the common objections of the third-rate theorists of the Continent against all mixed governments,—objections to which every mixed government must be, in a measure, liable from its very nature,—but to which that mixed government is peculiarly liable, which, having been the manufacture of rude times, has been gradually altered, shaped, and modified into a better form.

It is hardly possible to conceive any government of balanced powers, which shall not afford room for *general* declamations against its occasional incongruity; not to mention that, even in theory, something in point of efficiency, or at least of decision, must be lost by the perpetual reaction of opposing checks. 'We enable' (says our author) 'the Court of Directors to appoint the chief governors of India; and the Government retains the power to recal, or, in effect, to annul the appointment. The Directors propose measures; and the Government has the power to alter and to amend.' We say, all this may be bad,—it may be dreadful; but it is not *necessarily* so. We enable, in this country, the King to appoint his ministers; and Parliament retain the power to vote against them, that is, to annul the appointment. We enable him to declare war without consulting any body; and Parliament may nullify his act, or worse, by refusing supplies. Does it follow, that (to borrow, *mutatis mutandis*, his phraseology) 'by this

complicated system, the King is nothing, or the Parliament is nothing, and often both?' 'Do we not (he asks) hear it laid down as a general principle, the Company *must not quarrel with the Government?*' 'Do we not (it may be retorted) hear it laid down as a general principle, that *Parliament must not quarrel with the King?*' How far back must we go, in the history of this country, even to discover that the Monarch has the power of a *veto!* But what, after all, is this to the *comitia centuriata*, and the *comitia tributa*, of Rome, two bodies naturally opposed, but which yet coexisted for centuries, when either of them might legally have annihilated the other by a single vote? * All this shows the folly of looking merely at the *formal* part of a government when we would explain its nature.

It must not be supposed, however, that we are for holding 'forms to be indifferent;' especially after the contrary has been so triumphantly proved by Hume. Yet the view which that author takes of this subject in the Essay † to which we refer, does not lead him directly to note a distinction that was very doubtless in his thoughts; the distinction, we mean, between *forms* and *fictions*. A form may be kept up efficiently; or it may be kept up *pro formâ*. Supposing, in the instance mentioned by Hume, of the Polish monarchy, the Crown, by a series of events, or a concourse of accidents, to be virtually fixed in a particular family, while yet it was called elective, and while the shell of all the old system remained, the elective monarchy would be a mere fiction. Forms, therefore, are not indifferent, but fictions are so; and it is in carefully distinguishing these two—in carefully taking into account the one, and neglecting the other—that the labour, and the nicety of what may be denominated legislative criticism, entirely consists.

With all our kindness, however, for the constitution of the East India Company, we cannot as yet quite place it on a level with that of England; and our author is welcome, if he pleases, to consider our argument, comparative of these two forms of government, as a mere *reductio ad absurdum*. We are only for *particularizing*. Whether a mixed government be a conspiration or a confusion, a conflux or a contest, an Italian concert or a Dutch one, can never be determined, but by a minute investigation, first of the law of union, and then of the manner and degree in which this law has been modified by the influence of circumstances, or by opinion.

Under this limitation, we agree with the author, that the go-

* See Hume's Essays.

† Politics a Science.

vernment of the Company in question was a great *anomaly*; and can adopt all the verbal variations with which he has *set* this remark. That a thing is *unique*, however, does not prove it to be absolutely a monster; while it very satisfactorily, we think, proves this, that, in judging of it, we must not apply old rules without the greatest caution. To call the Directors 'Sovereigns,' is, indeed, in strictness, a misnomer. If they were so, we should be perfectly sure, that they ought to be dethroned; but, in point of fact, as well as in point of law, they are only a constituent part of the sovereign authority of India. The power is lodged jointly in the Court of Directors and the Board of Control; both mutually checking each other, and both collectively checked by Parliament. There are probably many vices in this constitution of things; but whether those vices are susceptible of reform, or whether they are to be reasons for a revolution, is a matter of very serious inquiry, and cannot be decided without an infinitely more scientific view of the question, than we find in the publication before us.

To enter into the large field of disquisition which might here be opened, is as much beside our purpose, as it is beyond our ability. All that we shall do is, first, to mention the two principal defects apparently chargeable on the political constitution of the India Company, supposing (as we have a right to suppose) that it has received all the reforms of which it is actually capable; and then to describe what, in this case, would be its principal virtue. After this, we may consider those plans for the government of our Oriental possessions, which are most likely to be candidates for adoption, in the event of the system now established being superseded.

The *first* defect which we charge upon the constitution of the Company, is one to which we have already alluded, as attaching to the nature of a mixed government. Time, in such a government, is often lost; and *time is power*. This, however, is a sacrifice well made for liberty. It is an invariable rule, that, when matters once come to length of stride, despotism, and, above all, individual despotism, must win the race; but yet, nobody wishes for despotism in this country. To have named this topic, however, is enough; and it would be mere waste of time to dwell on truths so trite as to have become the standing text with the better sort of tavern-orators.

Secondly, Some vice seems to us necessarily to reside in the constitution of the East India Company, from its being what we may call an *episode*; from its interests not moving exactly in the same orbit with the other powers of the state, but tracing out rather the path of a satellite. From this circumstance, their

concerns do not excite that unremitting and impassioned attention, with which the two parties that at any time divide Parliament, are apt to regard matters of which the responsibility rests solely with the minister.

We have, on a former occasion, hinted at this circumstance, as being one of those which explain the listlessness, so apparent in this country, with respect to Indian affairs. The writer under our review has something of the same idea; but were we vain enough to assume the credit of having suggested it to him, we should be truly mortified at the mutilation which it had undergone in his hands. The matter is, not that it cannot be known who is legally responsible for our national transactions in the East;—in every particular case, this may very easily be ascertained. The whole of the difficulty arises from this very simple circumstance, that, in every regular battle, there cannot be more than two sides. Now, the Directors being an independent body, distinct from the Cabinet-Council of the day, might be annihilated by a vote of Parliament, while yet the state of parties remained unaltered. But in most transactions of any magnitude, there will be one portion of responsibility resting on the heads of the Directors, and another on the administration; and though to allot these portions may be very easy, *after* the transaction has been investigated, it is not so easy *till* the investigation. In calling out for inquiries, therefore, into the details of Indian politics, the opposition, however suspicious appearances may be, are playing, if we may so express it, a *contingent stake*. The inquiry may or may not be found to affect ministers; that is, it may or may not, so far as party-views are concerned, be a *lost move*. It is perfectly otherwise with our European politics. Whatever misfortunes here occur, ministers are too surely responsible; and should they attempt to devolve the odium on those whom they have employed, they are responsible for having employed such instruments. If the distinction between these two cases be not so strongly marked as we have described it, and if, in particular cases, it has, for a season, altogether disappeared, at least there is commonly an approximation to it. But party-men are too much guided by party-views; and since the politics of India can seldom be made matters of party,—therefore, excepting flagrant instances of misconduct, and not always, perhaps, excepting even these, our national proceedings in that country excite but a languid attention in the two houses of Parliament. This is an evil, for which we know not a very efficient or direct remedy, so long as the Government of India moves in a sphere of its own. The evil would evidently exist, even if the Company were formally represented in Parliament, because such an arrangement, however it

might convert the supposed representatives into party-men, could never make a partisan of the Company itself. In the mean time, it is necessary to remember, that the evil is of a limited extent; that it may very probably admit of still further limitation; and that India has a sort of parliament of its own, though a very imperfect one, in the court of stock-proprietors.

Such, it strikes us, are the two principal imperfections necessarily adhering to the constitution of the Company. The great virtue of this constitution unquestionably is, that, by means of it, the immense patronage of India is prevented from falling into the hands of the minister of the day, in which it might prove a most efficient and dangerous instrument of corruption. This consideration is, it seems, carefully held up to public view by the Company and their advocates; and it indubitably forms a fair argument in their favour; nor does it appear to us of the smallest moment to inquire, whether the motives from which it is urged be patriotic or selfish. 'We ought' (says this author) 'to know the men who raise the objection, better.' But, with great submission to him, we ought not to know either the men who raise the objection, or the man who has here endeavoured to refute it. We ought to know only the *pro* and the *con*; and to determine accordingly.

The fund of patronage which a colony, using that term properly, affords to the Crown, is by no means in proportion to its size; because size gives it political weight, and consequently, a voice in its own government. Where even the appointment of a colonial officer is left solely to the King, the minister may often be obliged, in making it, to consult the wishes of the colonists. In some instances, however, a colony has had the sole power of chusing even its own governor; as, for example, Connecticut and Rhode-Island, before the disruption of America. It is obvious, that this can never be the case with the inhabitants, white and black, of our East-Indian possessions, while they continue, as now, without a recognized constitutional existence. Were India to become a colony, the Crown might be more safely trusted with what patronage the colonists would quietly suffer it to retain; but it is to be recollected, that if the Company were abolished, a long interval must elapse before India could be completely colonized, allowing that it would ever be colonized at all; and that, during this interval, the tide of ministerial influence might be so swelled by the patronage of that country, as very seriously to menace our liberties. In the hands of the Company, all this power may reside, at least with safety to the balance of the constitution.

The author answers this argument by saying, that to talk thus,

is to traduce the English constitution, which sufficiently provided checks against mal-administration, without the necessity of resorting to an anomalous, monstrous, and dangerous authority, which it neither knows nor sanctions. But this reply, to treat it favourably, seems extremely vague. To say, that we ought not to annex, *in perpetuum*, to the office of cabinet-minister, one or two hundred more of close boroughs, or, which is equipollent, a command of as many dead votes, appears to be no libel on the constitution, but rather the reverse. If the constitution knows nothing of the India Company, it knows as little of India and its patronage, and its peculiar relation to this country. The case is a new one. But if we are, in a sort of Talmudistic spirit, to make an amulet of the *letter* of the constitution, why do we not act fully up to our own principle? Why do we not extend all the forms of our own system to our fellow-subjects in the East? Why do we not issue writs for *darkening* the House of Commons with representatives of the black population of India? Why do we not increase our peerage by a body of delegates from the Hindoo or Mussulman aristocracies; not forgetting to variegate the bench of Bishops, by interspersing it with fifty expounders of the Koran, and one hundred and fifty Pundits learned in the Vedas?

The *spirit* of the constitution surely forbids any great increase of ministerial patronage, or at least, without the institution of additional checks somewhere. The misfortune, however, of committing all this patronage to the ministry, and then instituting checks, is, that the patronage will only enable them to buy off the checks. The plunder will defend itself. It is somewhat whimsical in this writer to contend, that the control of Parliament will prevent the evil, when the very objection to the evil is, that it weakens that control. This is, as if the crew of a vessel driven by a current, should attempt to stop her course by all hands pulling the ropes. It seems, therefore, a question at least, whether we ought not to vest the influence alluded to, in some other independent quarter; no matter whether it be the India Company or not.

There is, however, this argument for chusing the Company as the deposite of Indian patronage, in preference to any new body, that it is already established; and however we may modify it, or whatever is to be done with its commercial privileges, the known principles of legislation enjoin us, rather to avail ourselves of forms already in use, than to be eager for the credit of inventing others. Some share in the management of Indian affairs must, of course, go along with this patronage, wherever it is lodged; because it is preposterous to pay men, and give them no work for

their pay. Neither let us be too much alarmed by the mere 'whistling' of such 'names,' as *complexity*, *anarchical government*, and so forth; or of such cant ambidexter phrases as *imperium in imperio*; all which may be used against the worst system and against the best. The charge of *confusion*, as we have already observed, may easily, so long as men deal in generals, be urged against every one of those organized combinations of obedience and resistance, which we call governments; along the whole interval between the dreadful unity of despotism, and the uniform multiplicity of anarchy; between the point where all is obedience without resistance, and the point where all is resistance without obedience.

The author informs us, however, that the Directors are already a dangerous instrument of influence in the hands of ministers, and that, if they were not so, they would be too powerful, and amazingly apt to rebel. Whatever be the fact, we see no reason why they should necessarily be either the one or the other. If the balance be not exact, make it so. But in saying that the Company is now '*a slave*' to the cabinet, the author, we think, hardly does them justice, and too much forgets recent events. We do not mean, however, to praise the present constitution or the late acts of the Company, or to blame them. All we say is, that this constitution may be made a good one, if it is at present otherwise.

With respect to the government of the Company in India, if indeed we can call them governors, it was formerly oppressive enough; but we are much afraid, that this would have been the case under any system. The African slave-trade continued long after the African Company became bankrupt. Our colonies in America did not treat the Indians of the West much better than the early adventurers from this country treated their namesakes in the East. There is, in effect, no instance, or hardly one, in history, of a stronger nation having come into close contact with one decidedly weaker, it being supposed that the weaker has no chance of a powerful ally, but the strong became oppressors. We ardently hope, that we are now repairing, in a measure, these wrongs. Of the late wars, indeed, in India, the Directors themselves profess to disapprove. This is a good symptom; and if (as is said) they act, in this instance, not from a sense of justice, but of interest, we rejoice that they have discovered the necessary coincidence of their interests and their duties. It was for not seeing this, that they have been all along censured. But they must yet do much, before they think of resting on their oars, or living on their fame.

We have now afforded the best sketch in our power, of the

present form of Indian administration,—*taking it*, however, be it always remembered, *at its best possible*. To examine particular regulations on the subject, is beyond our knowledge and our ability. It is now incumbent on us shortly to consider, what, if the Company should be abolished, is the most probable alternative?

There seem to us to be four answers to this question, and these four, we suspect, conveniently include all the rational answers that can be made. In the event supposed—

First, The trade may be laid open, and the system of government transferred to the King and Parliament; while yet the entrance of settlers into British India continues to be greatly clogged, and all political existence to be denied them.

Secondly, The trade may be laid open, the entrance of settlers freely permitted, the Company altogether abolished, and the patronage transferred to the Crown.

Thirdly, The same as the first; only, that the political power and the patronage of the Directors remain with them.

Fourthly, The trade and country may be both entirely laid open, while the Directors retain their patronage, and generally the degree of political power which they now possess.

With respect to the *first* plan, we shall make three remarks. In the first place, this plan leaves, in unabated force, all the objections so strongly urged by Dr Smith, and so eloquently by Burke, against the mischiefs resulting to the East Indies, from their being necessarily made the prey of temporary residents. What force there is in those objections, we cannot stop to inquire; and shall only hint, that, though the system of temporary residence may have its faults, yet those faults are capable of much correction by law, and in fact have, in the present instance, received such correction; and further, that the opinion, that the hope of in future providing for their children by procuring them employments in the same line, and other conspiring causes, may greatly tend to inspire the Anglo-Indian residents with something of a patriotic feeling towards the country where they pass the best years of their lives.

In the next place, this plan would lay very serious restraints on that freedom of trade, which is the main object of its establishment. It would in fact make the commerce of India, if we may affix to it such a title, a sort of regulated royal monopoly. It would raise a hope of freedom that must be disappointed; and probably, any frequent exercise, by a royal government, of a power of excluding residents, would be still more odious than the preventive monopoly of the Company, which saves men the trouble of being sent home, by hindering them from being sent out.

In the last place, the objection of the probable abuse of patronage, when lodged in ministerial hands, not only remains, but applies with augmented force. If the ports of India be made all free, while yet a good deal of jealousy is to be exercised in watching the movements of those who arrive in them from abroad, it must be most evident that the charges of *inspection* will be prodigious, and of course a door is opened to the creation of new offices.

Nothing more, we conceive, need be said of a plan, which seems to unite in itself the evils of almost all the systems that can be adopted. It would, indeed, prevent the possibility of colonization, but perhaps at a greater expense than the advantage is worth.

The *second* of the plans which we mentioned, is that perhaps which will most conciliate popularity. Before, however, any thing can be said upon it, a previous question ought to be agitated: Would a complete liberty of commerce in the East Indies, and an unqualified permission of ingress to European settlers, tend to colonization? The Directors seem to believe, that India would, by these regulations, be converted into a prodigious colony in the course of half a century. To this sentiment we cannot entirely accede. Our view of the subject amounts to this,—that it, in some measure, depends on accident, whether or not, under the supposed circumstances, India would become a colony; but that the affirmative opinion is the most probable. Our zealous author, however, can never even enter the same room with the Company: he, therefore, flies off at all points; and declares the apprehension of colonization to be 'wholly chimerical.' Hardly a single Englishman, he contends, will ever think of settling in the East Indies; an opinion hardly quite consistent with his ideas of the immense opportunities afforded by the East for the extension of commerce, and of the probability that the emancipation of the Indian trade would occasion a considerable influx of British capital into that quarter of the world. He cannot but know, that men love to follow their capitals into distant lands; and that, wherever we find foreign capital fairly domiciliated in a country, we may surely reckon upon our not having long to look for the capitalist.

The great argument which he uses on this point, is founded on a comparison between America and Hindustan; a comparison which we do not think decisive. America was indeed a new country, and afforded an infinitely greater scope for the elasticity of population to operate, than can be expected in a country that has been settled for centuries. But the author seems to forget, that no old country is fully peopled; and if we may say that

population is universally checked by what he calls 'the nature of things,' yet it is rather by the *artificial* nature of things that this happens. England is not peopled nearly to its level. Now, the primary causes of this circumstance seem to be, the natural reluctance of the middling classes to descend into a lower stage of life by burdening themselves with numerous families, the unequal division of property, and the impediments to the cultivation of new land. It is therefore opinion, principally at least, that keeps down population. It is the reverence of men for antient institutions; it is the omnipotence of custom; it is resignation; it is indolence. Supposing, however, an order of men, much superior to ourselves, were suddenly introduced into this country; an order greatly more athletic in limb,—infinitely more enterprising,—in understanding incomparably more masculine,—'looking' farther 'before and after,'—despising our superstitions of opinion,—keenly ambitious,—and determined to support themselves on the produce of the country:—Conceive them, indeed, to enter on a solemn promise to respect 'the antient landmarks which our fathers have set,' and perhaps with an intention of being just and merciful;—with all this, allow them to be but *men*; and we firmly believe that every one of them would, by some means or other, find here that subsistence which he wanted; and that, by obvious consequence, this race of heroes would multiply, while our pigmy generation would gradually dwindle away. But we have here put the case weakly. If, in the situation just feigned, we suppose this country to be previously peopled to the very powers of its last waste acre, the very same event would undoubtedly occur. We do not say that it would be a set of wolves carving out breathing-room for themselves in a fold crowded with sheep; but it would certainly be men making way among children.

We need not apply this imagined event; the parallel is obvious. Our author, when denying the possibility of the introduction of an European population into Hundustan, overlooks the superior energy of the European character, and that surest magic, 'the ascendancy of strong minds over weak ones.' We may almost quote on this subject, without any gross misapplication of its meaning, the noble exclamation of the poet;

> 'Mind, mind alone, bear witness, earth and heaven!
> The living fountains in itself contains.'

The great obstacle, certainly, to the event supposed, would be, a strict and impartial discharge of justice in our courts in the East. This would certainly prevent any violent and grievous oppression of the natives by the European adventurers: but there are a thousand ways in which we might gradually press upon

them, without a direct violation of law. We are to observe further, that one third of the lands of India is waste, and that the rest, productive as it is, is very meanly cultivated. The first sound of a free Indian trade would attract a hundred different vessels from our coasts. Speculation would be prodigal and improvident; for, after all, even commerce can be romantic. All this would lead in many ways to a settlement; but this at least flows inevitably from the preceding remarks, that supposing, by some accident, (against which, who shall ensure us?), an European plantation once to begin in our Indian provinces, it *must* proceed. The weak must gradually yield to the strong; the lazy to the laborious; the timorous to the daring. The European population would, indeed, gradually degenerate; and there would be a pretty numerous mixed race; but the genuine natives must, after all, decline.

The probability of these events forms a very formidable objection to those measures from which they must originate. We will not consider, how much or how little of danger might accrue to this country, from the colonization of British India. We are quite content with the evils which, if we have rightly conceived what would be its process, it must necessarily inflict on the native population of Hindustan. How the American Indians, a far hardier race of men, have been perpetually compelled to recede before the destroying march of European colonization, it is unnecessary for us to mention; or to deduce from this, and many other similar facts, inferences and illustrations of the subject that has just been considered.

Thus much may certainly be objected to the second of our plans, (to say nothing of the observation we have repeatedly made), that in its first effect it would probably tend to increase, in an exorbitant degree, the indirect power of the Crown.

But if we suppose either of these plans to be modified, by placing the government of India in some corporate body similar to that in which it now resides, the objections to both plans would in part be weakened. We have not, however, room particularly to trace the effects of either of these arrangements; neither is it necessary; as, if the reader thinks the task worth performing, nothing can be easier than, with due qualifications, to apply to them the remarks which we have already taken the liberty of hazarding. In effect, without violating our promise of withholding a determinate opinion on the matters agitated in this article, we may venture to say, that it is our inclination to prefer the third plan to the first, and the fourth to the second. But the reader, we doubt not, will not much trouble himself

about our conclusions on the subject; and will be better pleased, if he shall have toiled through the prolix article with which we have presented him, to be left to the undisturbed exercise of his own judgment.

ART. VIII. *Jugement sur Buonaparté, adressé par le General Dumourier à la Nation Française, et à l'Europe.*

Analysis of the Character and Conduct of Bonaparte, addressed to the French Soldiery, and the People of Europe, by General Dumourier. Translated from the French by Mr Elder; to which is subjoined the original text. 8vo. pp. 122. London, Hatchard, 1807.

MR ELDER states, in the dedication of his translation, that he requested a friend, who lives in habits of intimacy with General Dumourier, to inquire whether or not he was the real author of this piece. The General answered that he was, and that he gave full liberty to publish his declaration to this purpose; adding, at the same time, a good deal of invective, in the style of the pamphlet itself. Satisfied with this evidence, Mr Elder was anxious to make the work known in our language, conceiving that it is calculated to produce an excellent effect in the present crisis, by giving 'a most intelligent and faithful exposition of the conduct and character of a usurper, whose flagitious darings have spread ruin and desolation throughout a great portion of the European world, and even menaced Great Britain with invasion;'—and by proving most satisfactorily, that 'notwithstanding his successes have been unusually rapid, he is not entitled to the character of a general on whose judgment an army can safely rely in any pressing emergency.' Such are Mr Elder's views of his subject; and as for his author, he is 'universally considered the most skilful, experienced and gallant officer of the present age, and hath likewise been distinguished in France, and on the Continent, as the most profound statesman that has ever adorned the annals of his country.' Bonaparte and Dumourier being thus satisfactorily disposed of, we may just mention, before proceeding to the original work, that Mr Elder's proper task of translation is very ill executed. He nowhere does justice to the spirit of his author,—frequently mistakes his meaning,—and, in almost every paragraph, takes liberties with the composition, which are as much beyond his province, as to pass judgments on the military character of these two celebrated men.

The '*Jugement sur Buonaparté,*' is distinguished by most of the qualities which may be remarked in the former productions of General Dumourier,—great fluency of argument—such ingenuity as always convinces the reader that he could have said an equal number of equally plausible things on the opposite side of every question which he discusses—considerable rashness in stating decided opinions upon very difficult subjects—and, on all occasions, an exclusive attention to his own side of the argument—a certain facility in bringing together various details, which is apt sometimes to pass for the talent of forming large and comprehensive views, when in reality it may only be an enumeration of particulars seen partially through the medium of some theory—a style frequently declamatory, but always lively. Those who chuse to peruse this tract in the original, will at least be entertained by it; and it would be in no small degree interesting, could we believe that it contained the sober and matured opinion of one distinguished commander upon the genius of another,—and that no considerations of interest, with reference to the people of this country, whose prejudices it flatters—and no feelings of personal irritation towards the government of France, had entered into the author's mind, while preparing to pronounce sentence upon the professional merits of his great contemporary. At any rate, the subject is extremely important. The fortunes of the world hang, at this moment, in a far greater degree than at any former period of its history, upon the will, and the destiny of a single individual; and, unhappily, there is no point of material consequence in the situation of any European country, which may not be discussed, without a digression, under the title of General Dumourier's work. We shall, therefore, lay before our readers the opinions of this clever speculatist, and shall suggest the remarks to which they lead, both respecting the individual who is the more immediate subject of the treatise, and the present state of Europe in general.

Our author sets out with some remarks upon the unfairness and the folly of judging by the event. He inveighs, in the common way, against the thoughtlessness of mankind, who estimate merit only by the standard of success, and give those honours to fortune which should be reserved for talents and virtues. The uniform good luck which has attended Bonaparte, has, it seems, dazzled the world, and prevented them from perceiving that he is merely a fortunate adventurer; one who owes to pure accident, whatever he has not gained from the weakness of his adversaries. He does nothing according to principle or system; his rashness could only be kept from working his instant destruction, by the in-

fatuation of his enemies. His whole career has been a series of desperate blunders, the least of which, in any other period of the world, must have proved fatal. His crimes are still more astonishing than his temerity; and as his fortune cannot hold out much longer in spite of the latter, so his punishment is surely preparing by means of the former. In government, violence and caprice,—in policy, falsehood and precipitancy,—in military affairs, want of science, of circumspection, of self-command,—supplied by nothing but a blind and headlong reliance on his own fortune. Such are the boasted talents which have made Buonaparte illustrious, because men have been dazzled by the mere accident of his success, and never inquired how little he deserved it.

It is singular enough that our author, after these satisfactory observations, immediately falls into the very train of reasoning which he had been condemning so sharply. The term of Buonaparte's unaccountable success, he says, is at last arrived; Providence has reserved for the Emperor of Russia to stay this scourge of nations; he is stopt in his career, and about to receive his punishment. And now, he adds, when the false glare of good fortune is for the first time removed, we are enabled to form a just estimate of his pretensions to the character of greatness. In short, this tract was written immediately after the news arrived of the battle of Eylau. General Dumourier then concluded, that every thing was going wrong for the French cause. He saw the tide of fortune turned, and he immediately formed, or at least pronounced, his judgment upon Buonaparte, entering, as was then supposed, on a long course of disasters. So that this extraordinary man, while covered with unparalleled triumphs for ten years of almost constant victory, is only to be marvelled at, because he succeeds without deserving it; and as soon as he receives something like a check, it is no longer fortune, but desert. Let him succeed a hundred times; it is all good luck. If he fail but once, it is his own fault; and this single failure is made the rule for judging of all his former successes. It may, however, at once expose the futility of our author's reasoning, if we mention the following topic, to which indeed, in common with other declaimers on this subject, he frequently recurs. After asserting, that he owes every thing to good fortune, and to the weakness of his enemies; that 'all the powers of the Continent have supplied the stones of which the pedestal of this colossus is built;' and that 'his career has been brilliant but easy;' our author adds, 'if indeed he could have stopt after the peace of Amiens,—if he had not seized the iron crown,—if he had not assassinated the Duke d'Enghien,—if he had pardoned Pichegru

and Georges—if he had preserved, by cultivating the arts of peace, the best fruits of his victories, and had restored the lawful princes to the throne of France—' *alors Buonaparté eût été le plus grand homme que l'histoire passée, presente et future, eût presenté à l'admiration des siècles.*' This at once destroys his whole doctrine of Buonaparte having only an ordinary genius; for surely, the addition of extraordinary moderation and virtue, to common-rate talents, cannot constitute ' such greatness as the world never saw.' And if our author means to tell us, that true greatness of character depends as much upon worth as genius, he is only repeating a verbal criticism, as trite as it is trivial; which, if admitted to its utmost extent, merely proves, that a character may be very great, without attaining the utmost conceivable pitch of greatness.

General Dumourier proposes to justify his disbelief of Buonaparte's military talents, by a particular analysis of his conduct and that of his enemies, during the three last campaigns;—the war with Austria in 1805; with Prussia in 1806; and the present war with Russia, down to the battle of Eylau. It is unnecessary, and might perhaps appear presumptuous, to follow this analysis minutely. Certain general considerations, which occur to persons not conversant with military affairs, are sufficient answers to the author's inferences, even were we to admit the whole of his details, through respect for so great an authority. But there are also defects in his reasoning, on points of military science, too obvious to have escaped him, had he not been warped by his theory, and set out predetermined to find every thing wrong which both Buonaparte and the allies have done, and every thing quite practicable which either party has omitted.

The campaign of 1805, according to our author, was a contest which party should commit most mistakes. England having done nothing to create alarm on the North coast of France, and Prussia showing no symptoms of hostility, but, on the contrary, remaining firm in her neutrality, as Buonaparte well knew, from the venality of the cabinet of Berlin;—he was enabled to reinforce Massena, and to march with all his troops into Suabia. The blunders of Austria at the outset were obvious; they have never been denied. But the hostile seizure of the Elector of Bavaria's person, and the forcible incorporation of his army with the Emperor's, are surely not the omissions which we have most reason to regret. General Dumourier forgets, that the Elector accused the Emperor of having suddenly demanded the dismission and incorporation of his army; and of having, on a refusal, seized upon the electorate. The Emperor too admitted, that, whatever were his demands, he had ordered his army to march, whe-

ther they should be complied with or not.* Here, then, was just as much violence as heart could wish: but the execution was not so prompt as such violent policy requires; and Austria had the full credit, without reaping the benefit, of those reprehensible councils. We take the liberty of suggesting, that the grand error, in so far as regarded Bavaria, was the omitting to ascertain, beforehand, whether the influence acquired by France over the Court of Munich, from the affair of the indemnities, had been extinguished,—or, indeed, expecting that it should be extinguished,—or ever imagining that the Elector could hesitate which of the two dangers he should chiefly shun, a rupture with France, or a breach with Austria. Then, if the war could not safely be commenced without Bavaria, it should have been delayed: or, if it must be commenced, and in spite of Bavaria, it should only have been begun when Austria was able, at one and the same time, to give France the alarm, and to march through that electorate. Such movements, indeed, require a certain time; and Buonaparte must necessarily have learnt that they were in preparation. Then, he could hurry his army through Flanders, and cross the Rhine, as soon as he was assured of the dispositions of Austria. But in what does superiority of policy, aye, and of military address, consist? Is there no skill in moving exactly at the right time,—and to the proper place,—and with the requisite degree of celerity? The plain truth is, that Austria went to war too soon;—and, having resolved on war, she delayed her operations too long. France committed no such mistakes; and beat her accordingly.

But, though the campaign in Suabia occasioned the loss of Vienna and the retreat from Italy, our author says, that, until the battle of Austerlitz, the affairs of the allies might easily have been retrieved. Buonaparte had advanced to a vast distance from home,—both armies were in want of provisions,—a general engagement alone could have saved the French. The allies, therefore, should have left a garrison in Olmutz, and an army of observation in Teschen;—they should have rapidly marched off towards the Upper Palatinate, by Prague and Egra. In that country they would have found abundant supplies, and might have fallen upon the camp at Schellenberg on the Danube without delay; thus forcing the enemy to retreat, in order to avoid being cut off from his communication with the Rhine. This retreat, our author conceives, would have proved fatal to him, pursued

* See *Historical Representation*, Sept. 29. 1805, and *Austrian Answer*, October 16.

as he must be by the Archduke and the Hungarian insurrection; —and so there would have been an end of Buonaparte, and the French revolution.

We fear, however, that our author is here taking it all his own way, and fighting both for the allies and their enemies. He cannot surely think, that Buonaparte would have been idle while this grand march was going on. If it was so greatly for his advantage to accept the battle which they gave at Austerlitz, he would have moved off to intercept them as soon as they pointed towards Prague, and would have brought them to an engagement, or stopped their manœuvre. The distance between Olmutz and Prague is nearly 150 English miles. Was Buonaparte to remain in his camp at Brunn, and starving too, while the allies were moving over this space, at the rate of ten miles a day? Or, if the execution of the movement depended on its celerity, are we to believe that the Russians and Austrians were certain of marching with greater expedition than the French? Our author admits, that both armies were in want of provisions;—they could not therefore remain stationary;—and from every thing which has appeared in the different campaigns between the French and their enemies, we are entitled to conclude, that, if the chance of defeating them in a pitched battle was small, the chance of beating them by manœuvres, and particularly by rapid marches, was infinitely smaller. What reason have we, from any of the late campaigns, to imagine that the Austrians and Russians *could* have marched away, and fought or not as they chose, during their whole movement? Is it not much more likely, that Buonaparte, seeing part of the army quietly in garrison at Olmutz, and part observing him in Teschen, (which was a diminution, by no means inconsiderable, of the chief force), would have allowed the rest to advance until he could just get between them and their own country, and would then, by a rapid movement, have overtaken and brought them to a battle with his whole forces, after his usual manner, leaving the forces in Olmutz to garrison that town, and the army in Teschen to observe him, until he had time to pick them up after destroying the main body? Fatal as the battle of Austerlitz was, such a catastrophe would have been much more so. It would indeed have laid open to him the whole frontier of Russia. The idea of his having been in such danger at Austerlitz, is, however, infinitely less chimerical, than the notion so fondly cherished by some persons in this country, that his chief danger was after the battle, and that the allies might have destroyed him without difficulty, if they had only delayed the negotiations a few weeks longer. The indecency, indeed, with which we upbraid those monarchs whom our councils have brought to the verge of

ruin, because they refuse to plunge deeper and lose all, is one of the most disgusting circumstances attendant upon the late continental policy of England. General Dumourier talks of, what he is pleased to term the '*pacifico-mania*,' upon several occasions; but he is much too sensible a man to blame Austria for the peace by which she preserved her existence.

The particulars of the campaign against Prussia, have not undergone so much discussion, and are less fully known, than those of the war in Suabia or Moravia. The mistakes which our author imputes to the cabinet of Berlin, and its generals, are numerous, and cannot be vindicated. They gave the enemy time to assemble his army by marching separate and inconsiderable divisions from the south of Germany upon the Mayne, instead of advancing into Franconia as soon as war had been resolved on, and thus carrying it on, as Frederic the Great had done, at the expense of a foreign and hostile territory. In the whole detail of the plan which they did adopt, the greatest want of generalship is observable; and the quick surrender of the strong places, one after another, can only be ascribed, our author thinks, to the cowardice or disaffection of their commanders. He also blames the King of Prussia, and with perfect justice no doubt, for taking possession of Hanover, and thus offending the best and most attached of his natural allies. He avoids saying one word, however, upon the policy of this country, in being offended at such conduct, in the peculiar circumstances of the Continent; nor does he blame the King of Prussia for the most fatal of all his errors, the rupture with France. It is scarcely possible that so acute a person as General Dumourier should have passed over those points; we must rather impute his silence on them to his dread of the '*pacifico-mania*,' above hinted at. Like Mr Gentz, and a large body of reasoners (shall we call them?) in this country, our author seems afraid of reprobating, under any circumstances, any thing that has the semblance of hostility, lest neutrality should gain ground; or of admitting, that peace is ever politic, lest the doctrine should make its way, that war must never be resorted to. They all along forget, that they have not to argue with quaker statesmen, but with men who deprecate premature resistance to France, only because it is sure of being ineffectual;—who, far from wishing to see the Continent sunk in a state of apathy to French aggressions, only deplore partial and unavailing struggles, because these must *indeed* produce, from entire prostration of strength, the lethargy so much and so justly to be feared.

Having, in our author's view of the subject, by his rashness and audacity, destroyed the Prussian army, contrary to all the rules of military science, Buonaparte might have completed the

conquest of Europe, had he possessed the great qualities which enable a man of genius to profit by his successes. The winter was already set in: he had only to occupy that season in consolidating and arranging the dominions which he filled with his troops; in improving the pacific dispositions of Austria; in recruiting his army and clothing it at the expense of the conquered countries; in raising a subsidiary German force; in availing himself of intrigue to separate his adversaries—and the business was finished. 'Si sa tête fougueuse eût pu se plier à une pareille conduite, c'en était fait de la liberté du monde.' Instead of this, however, he pushed on his exhausted army, and rashly disclosed his whole projects. The extent and boldness of these terrified all Europe, but united none of the sovereigns more firmly against him. Indeed, so infatuated or intimidated were they, that not even his unparalleled folly, in betraying his own secret, would have worked his ruin, had he not happily been at length defeated by the Russians,—compelled to retreat after some vain boasting and parade, reduced to act upon the defensive, and to await what every man of sense now foresees must be his doom.

The project which Buonaparte so heedlessly disclosed, was, it seems, of this nature. He was to restore the Polish monarchy under one of his generals, obtaining the consent of Austria, in return for Silesia, and drawing from the new kingdom a numerous addition to his army. He was to procure two diversions, by making the Turks attack Russia in the Ukraine, and the Persians threaten her in Asia. He was to gain over the King of Sweden by giving him the Prussian part of Pomerania, and the Russian provinces on the Gulf of Finland, which would have reduced Russia to nearly the same situation from which Peter the Great raised her. Finally, but which might as well have been placed first, as it is the foundation of the scheme, he was to have overthrown the allies in a decisive battle, which would enable him to give the law at St Petersburgh.

The different branches of this vast plan General Dumourier examines separately. There was no chance, he contends, of Austria agreeing to the reestablishment of Poland, unless Buonaparte could suddenly threaten her with his whole army and that of his allies on the Rhine, having previously completed the conquest of Silesia to tempt her withal, and delaying the prosecution of the war beyond the Vistula until he obtained her acquiescence. The Poles themselves were not disposed to make any exertions. This part of the argument is, in our apprehension, perfectly just. Our author, however, reasons from the event, respecting the disposition of the country; and states merely as a fact, what might easily have been gathered from the well known state of the nobles

and their peasantry. The Turkish government was too feeble, he thinks, to make any diversion; and he exults not a little in the march of the Russians into Moldavia and Wallachia, as if this very movement were not a most important diversion in favour of the French. The Persians, he argues, were too much divided among themselves, and had too narrow a front for offensive operations, to give Russia any trouble worth guarding against by detaching troops. This part of the plan, indeed, seems exceedingly doubtful; and we see no reason to believe that the French intrigues in Persia had any reference to the immediate operations of the war. To the scheme of seducing Sweden, our author can only object, by boasting of the great spirit which the young monarch has displayed; and demanding, in a way rather declamatory than convincing, whether such a prince *could* be gained over by Buonaparte? He seems altogether to have forgotten, that, not many years ago, this same prince was as keen an enemy of England as he now is of France; happily, indeed, with just as little effect, but with equal demonstrations of hostility and 'spirit.' Perhaps he was pushed on by Paul; but the present speculation supposes that France shall have become more formidable than Paul: and who shall answer for any monarch's conduct, when such an enemy offers him the choice—of destruction by continuing a contest without an object—or aggrandizement by becoming his ally?

Because the King of Sweden dislikes France, has he lost his fear of Russia? Do his personal feelings sway his court and his people? Is not a French alliance an hereditary favourite in that country; and the hatred, founded on the just dread of Russia, a feeling still more deeply rooted? What could be more tempting to the nation, what more likely to tempt the King, even if intimidation were out of the question, than an arrangement which should restore the antient independence of that country, substituting, for the influence of its powerful neighbour, the old alliance with a more distant state? Nor need we go further than this part of the project (which is in the highest degree likely to have been in the contemplation of France), to refute the views of Buonaparte's character which our author exhibits. Let us be just to an enemy, and ask ourselves, if he can really be a slave to caprice and irritation,—hurried away by every gust of passion,—a being of mere rashness and audacity,—actuated by no principles of sound policy,—who, at the moment of greatest personal animosity towards the Swedish monarch, formed the scheme now imputed to him, of restoring Sweden to her antient rank, and trusting (as safely he might trust) to her hands, thus strengthened by himself, the maintenance of his cause in the north of Europe?

Our author concludes with a great deal of invective against the folly of attempting a march into Russia during the winter. In this mad project, he says, Buonaparte has at last been defeated; and driven, as he must speedily be, out of Poland, he will find all the rest of Europe in rebellion against him: The German states, aided by Sweden—Austria—Spain—Portugal; the Neapolitans assisted by the English from Sicily—the Swiss—the Dutch—the Flemings. But it is to the French themselves that our author looks most willingly for the usurper's final destruction; and, taking for granted that the other nations of Europe are striving, as the fugitive conqueror passes them, who shall give the blow, he closes his tract with an eloquent exhortation to the French people to rise in the mean time as one man;—to rescue the flower of the army from the hands of its present chiefs, and free it from the corrupt mass of foreigners which has been mixed with it;—to restore the Bourbons, and follow the paths of wisdom and virtue, which alone lead to happiness. Of all this agreeable dream, little indeed now remains. Were there not so much of melancholy in the subject, there would be something very ludicrous in following our author's fine fancies, after the fatal reverse of fortune, as he will probably call it, which confounded them the very moment they had been promulgated. Of the fragments of his castle which lye scattered before us, we shall select one as a specimen of his way of building. We wish the love of this art were confined to himself, or that the overthrow of one more structure could cure the passion for such ememployment, which is almost epidemical in the present day. He has just been vanquishing Buonaparte, almost to the last man, in several engagements; and he thus proceeds to reap the fruits of his victories.

'Laissons courir ce fou à sa perte, les Russes seuls sont suffisants pour en purger la terre. Plaignons les braves soldats, devenus, la plupart malgré eux, les satellites de ce tyran du monde. Tournons nos regards derriere lui. Tous ses moyens de grande défensive arrangés, il restera encore assez de troupes à l'Empereur Alexandre pour détacher par la Baltique dans sa *Scherenflote* vingt mille hommes, qui peuvent joindre dès le printemps le Roi de Suede dans l'isle de Rugen.

'Ce jeune Monarque, à l'exemple du Grand Gustave Adolphe, développera en Poméranie avec le secours Russe et le subside Anglais une armée de cinquante mille hommes, et s'étendant dans la Basse Saxe depuis Dantzick et Colberg jusqu'à Hambourg, doublera cette armée avec les insurgents de la Prusse, de la Hesse, passera l'Elbe, délivrera la Prusse et la Saxe, et établira une grande guerre au centre de l'Allemagne, à laquelle se joindra necessairement l'Autriche. Qui s'opposera à ces deux grands orages, s'étendant du Danube à la Mer Baltique? La faible Ligue du Rhin? Non, elle se dissoudra, et chacun de ses membres expiera sa faiblesse, en joignant Gustave et l'Empereur d'Autriche pour délivrer l'Allemagne.

' Le sensible, le philantrope Buonaparté, cet être bienfaisant qui ne respire que pour le bonheur du monde, qui offre la paix à tout moment, qui ne répand le sang, ne pille les propriétés, n'opprime et n'avilit les peuples que par l'impulsion d'une delicate fraternité, rentrera en Allemagne le fer et la flamme à la main, jettera les hauts cris sur la perfidie d'une nation égarée qui se refuse à la félicité dont il la comble, attribuera cette erreur criminelle au machiavelisme et à l'or de l'Angleterre, et cherchera à effectuer une retraite difficile au travers de ces peuples ingrats, et de rentrer en France où il rencontrera la même ingratitude.

' Regardons encore plus loin. La nation Portugaise qu'il a tant pressurée et avilie, qu'il fait menacer depuis plusieurs années d'être effacée de la liste des nations pour devenir une province de l'Espagne, profitera l'éloignement du *Conquérant du Nord* qui est à huit cent lieues, trainant à sa suite toute la force militaire de France et d'Italie, pour reprendre son ancienne energie, récouvrer sa liberté et son honneur, se délivrer des tributs arbitraires dont elle est accablée, et aider la nation Espagnole à en faire autant. Ce seront encore deux peuples aveugles et ingrats qui échapperont à la bienveillance de *l'Auguste* moderne.

' Peut-être même encouragés par l'impunité, puisque vu son éloignement il ne pourra les atteindre, pousseront-ils, pour assurer leur liberté, leur audace criminelle jusqu'à couronner les Pyrénées, et jetter des escadres et des troupes sur les côtes du Midi et de l'Ouest de la France pour protéger les insurrections des provinces, qui trouvent mauvais qu'on arrache la fleur de leur jeunesse de ses foyers pour aller asseoir une famille avanturiere sur tous les trônes de l'Europe, et qui ne voyent la fin de ces guerres ruineuses et dévorantes, la cessation du gouvernement militaire et despotique, et le retour de la sûreté des propriétés, des lois, de la morale, du commerce, des manufactures, de la vraie liberté, du bonheur de la France, et de la paix universelle de l'Europe, que dans le rétablissement des Bourbons sur un trône qui leur est bien dû en expiation du martyre du vertueux Louis XVI. et de leurs longues souffrances. '

We have stated upon a former occasion, and long before the event, our reasons for never indulging in such hopes as these. But, at any rate, they are now mere dreams of a night that is passed away. Let us, instead of disputing what would have followed from events always highly improbable, consider the situation in which they have actually been placed, and the prospect which is spread before us. Such a speculation is more than merely gratifying our curiosity. If attended with some risk, from the rapid progress which affairs are making at the moment of discussion; it is likely, on the other hand, to teach us some lessons which may the more speedily prove serviceable.

The fatal impolicy which produced the coalition of 1805, is unquestionably the cause of the disasters now so generally deplored. Satisfied with having a just cause of war, Russia and

Austria never inquired whether they had a safe opportunity; or rather, England, resolved at all hazards, and without delay, to turn out the Continent against France, never considered that a pretext for going to war was quite unnecessary,—that the mere relative strength of France would, according to antient rules, furnish sufficient ground for attacking her,—but that it also rendered the attempt ruinous if it failed, and prescribed such a degree of caution in making it, as should give a fair chance of success. The event is but too well known. Austria, unable to withstand the first shock of the war, or to keep her ground until Russia came to her assistance, was in a few weeks so reduced, that she owed her existence to a peace which left her quite incapable of moving again, whatever might happen to make new exertions desirable. Had the strength which was wasted in 1805 been reserved for the next year, and joined to the united efforts of Russia and Prussia, we do not say that the Duke of Brunswick would have marched to Paris, but such a front would have been opposed to France, as must have rendered it highly dangerous for her ruler, either to continue his aggressions in Germany, or to attempt the invasion of this country. With the countries beyond the Alps and the Pyrenees in a state of equal discontent, his own people heartily sick of the war, his conquered provinces still more anxious for peace, he would probably have thought in good earnest of 'ships, colonies, and commerce;' and would have deferred to a better season his projects both of continental and maritime aggrandizement. A peace might have been obtained, such as his neighbours could safely trust; or, if he determined to try another campaign, the resistance which he has in point of fact lately experienced, entitles us to conclude, that, unavailing as it has now proved, if augmented by the exertions of Austria, it would have induced him to pause, even before any efforts were made against him in the south.

But we are following the example of General Dumourier, and only indulging a pleasing fiction, which makes the reality more intolerable. After the ruin of Austria, and the advanced positions which the enemy immediately occupied, no rational statesman could entertain hopes of the remaining part of Europe opposing an effectual resistance to him. To avoid an open rupture, was the only policy which remained. Russia had still some name left. Her unwieldiness, and the weakness of Prussia, were as yet unknown. Rather than discover those secrets by experiment, it is probable that France would have remained satisfied with some petty encroachments,—quite sufficient, no doubt, to justify war, and in happier times, to prescribe it; but much rather to be connived at than resented after the fate of Austria,—which Prussia had done

nothing, and Rustia scarcely any thing, to stay. The conduct of the court of Berlin was indeed such as to merit even more abuse than has been lavished upon it, if the awful punishment had not since followed. Unfortunately England had, at that moment, no voice in its councils, having, from views, excuseable, perhaps, but not the less to be deplored, gone to war with Prussia, because a just cause of hostility was afforded, and lost sight for a while of the maxim, that whatever is not French should be treated as English. * If experience could teach nations, as it is said to do the most indocile of individuals, we might now expect one truth to be received as the dear-bought fruits of the last ten years,—that no measures against France have any chance of success, in which Austria is not the chief actor, and that, for this purpose, she must be also the prime mover of those schemes. We must wait her time,—we must accommodate ourselves to her situation,—we must nurse her resources, and adapt our conduct to her views. Upon her we can always rely, with the confidence which strong mutual interest alone can give.—When her time comes, and a sufficient number of the other nations have an interest in joining the league,—when cabinet and people feel alike disposed to fight,—then the aggressions of France may be considered as about to check themselves, and it will be safe for England to assist a continental war. In the present state of Europe, and for a long time to come, the best service she can render her allies, is to exert herself actively in preventing them from seeking new wars with an enemy whom they cannot face; and it is her own interest to view as her allies, at least to this effect, all nations which are either unsubdued, or forcibly retained in friendship with France.

The restoration of peace on the Continent, is, therefore, in our view of the subject, a very fortunate event. Russia and Austria, if they are altogether unable to make head against France at present, retain, nevertheless, resources which prudent management

* This queſtion of the rupture with Pruſſia on account of Hanover, was never diſcuſſed; becauſe, if the late Miniſtry, probably from expectations of peace, were inclined to reſent the conduct of Pruſſia, their adverſaries were too happy to get a new war at any price, and more eſpecially a war for Hanover. It is painful to reflect, that this was one of the moſt popular acts of the late adminiſtration. The country cared, indeed, very little about Hanover; but the charm of finding ſome more enemies, and that, too, at a time when there was ſome fear of a peace with France, was not to be reſiſted. It is perhaps not too much to affirm, that Hanover became a ſort of favourite with the people, becauſe it furniſhed the ground of a ſpirited quarrel; although, in former times, a continental war uſed to be the object of averſion, if it had any relation to the King's German dominions.

may once more render formidable. The bravery of the Russian troops, and the severe battles which it has cost to beat them, must certainly contribute to render peace still more popular in a country subject to an unsparing military conscription. Happily, too, Austria made no effort, and therefore was not defeated. Some kind of doubt, consequently remains with the French, whether they could have triumphed over the whole force of the Continent; and they can have no doubt, that such a victory would have cost them much dearer. The neutrality of Austria, then, and the good conduct of the Russians, will probably render it more convenient for Buonaparte to give such terms at present, as could scarcely again have been expected, unless, in the most unlikely of all events, his complete discomfiture. Had Austria given him cause of alarm, he certainly would have turned short about upon her, and with the assistance of his different auxiliaries on the West and South, acting under some of his thousand finished commanders, would have speedily prevented any further movement from that quarter. Had Russia then persisted in the contest, he would have followed up his victories, cost what they might, until he reached the fertile provinces which lead to St Petersburgh. But this would have been his last war with Russia. The peace which sooner or later must have come, would, in that case, have left to some dependent state the task of checking so troublesome and doubtful an enemy. Sweden, if any such question can admit of certainty, would surely have been reared up to fill this office; and instead of Russia being left entire to assist Austria at some future period, she would probably have been excluded from all share in the politics of Europe, by the restoration of a power too feeble ever to cope with France, and only strong enough to aid her.

Happily this change, which, together with the establishment of their power in Poland, has been a favourite plan of the French statesmen since the reign of Lewis XV., is not likely at present to take place. France will, in all likelihood, be satisfied with the reduction of the King of Prussia to a state of dependence, and the erection of some part of his dominions into a separate and French principality; thus gaining a new depôt for intrigue, and an advanced post for French troops to the east of the German powers, and in the neighbourhood of Russia. The consequences of such an arrangement, while Buonaparte's influence in France, and the military character of his people continues, need scarcely be pointed out. It renders all hope of an effectual resistance, by the joint operation of Russia and Austria, nearly chimerical. The utmost that can be said for it is, that the complete success of the plan, the restoration of Poland and Sweden, would have been much worse.

XUM

Thus then, the Continental powers will find it necessary to remain under the influence of France, and, tired of hostility which has only reduced them lower each time, they will bethink themselves of conciliating her friendship or forbearance. The adoption of some measures unfavourable to England, will probably form part of the price for which this is granted; and the interruption of our commercial intercourse with the north of Europe, is likely to be one of the first fruits of the new order of things. If a similar prohibition be extended to Portugal, our whole direct intercourse with Europe will be confined to the trade of Sicily. Even this we shall only retain, while France thinks it better to confine our forces in that island; and we shall then owe to 'that war in disguise,' which has been painted as the enemy's only means of annoying us, the power of selling a single bale of goods to any of our European customers. Under such circumstances, we certainly cannot expect to dictate terms to our only remaining customers the Americans. But this will be the smallest part of the evil. A rigorous enforcement of the prohibition against our goods may be apprehended in most of the places subject to our enemy's influence; and though it is true that no such exclusion can be completely effected, it is equally certain that the conversion of the greatest part of our regular trade into contraband, will exceedingly diminish the amount of our commercial dealings, and narrow, in the most alarming degree, those resources by which a war of rapidly increasing expense must be carried on. By such means, even if all direct hostility against us were out of the question, it is probable that the enemy expects to diminish, not certainly our hatred of him, but our horror at peace. A great number of failures in the mercantile world—the ruin of many colonial proprietors—the general increase of price in all imported articles—not to mention the return of numbers of our ruined countrymen from their residences abroad—would no doubt spread a degree of consternation throughout this island, not the less violent because it succeeded to a few years of exulting confidence in our immutable prosperity. While the income of the people suffered, the demands for the public service would necessarily increase; and the weight of new taxes would become almost too heavy even for those who have talked of cheerfully giving up half their property to save the rest.

But it is probable that, though the alarm and real vexation which must then be diffused, must induce the people to wish for peace, they would find that they had waited too long, and lost the opportunity. For, in what situation will our enemy stand with respect to invasion? He may try it when he chooses, and has nothing to fear if he fails. There is no longer

the most remote chance of diversion in our favour; and if we destroy his whole invading squadron, or annihilate his army after it lands, we have only obtained security until he shall make a second attempt. Formerly there were many serious obstacles to the project being tried;—for, if he engaged in it, he had to apprehend that the powers of the Continent would seize the opportunity of attacking him; and he could not doubt that they would fall upon him, if he was repulsed,—while the people of France were likely to be disheartened, perhaps discontented by the failure. Now that the Continent is subdued, and left without the possibility of resisting for years to come, he has none of these dangers to think of;—our utmost efforts must end in barely defending ourselves. That the invasion will be attempted, too, with means which never before were at his disposal, cannot admit of a doubt. If he sets about it in good earnest—that is to say, if we make a grand exertion of this sort absolutely necessary, by refusing to treat—he has not only an abundance of soldiery quite unexampled in any country, but the power of obtaining ships and seamen both in the north and south of Europe. His points of attack are no longer confined to Brest, Boulogne, and the Texel. The north of Germany, the Danish dominions, and the Tagus, will in all human probability be added to his sea coast, or so far subjected to his influence, that he may use their harbours as his own. Whether the British navy can be suddenly augmented, so as to blockade every armament which he may fit out over this vast extent of coast,—and whether, if we had as many fleets as we now have ships, all the harbours capable of containing an armament are likewise capable of being blockaded, are questions that need only be stated to be answered.

If then we must at length, and indeed, expect to *fight the battle on our own shores*, it may be prudent to consider how dreadful the consequences would prove, even of the most unsuccessful war which France could carry on in this commercial territory. That it could not be a very short struggle, or indeed a contest perfectly free from the greatest of possible dangers, must appear evident to every one who reflects on the superior skill of the enemy's officers, the experience of his whole army, and the present state of Ireland. When the certain injury is so great—when there is a possibility at least of a still greater calamity—and when the utmost we can gain by such losses and risks is merely the repulse of the invader, leaving him nearly in the same situation as before, and ourselves much weaker; it becomes us to consider whether it would not be just as wise to terminate the war at present, if an honourable peace can be procured. We cannot possibly gain by continuing this contest. On the contrary, such of our allies as remain steady to us

will be ruined; and the resources of those who either are disposed or compelled to leave us, will be turned against us. The enemy is, in all probability, willing to treat once more—he thinks he shall gain by a peace the only thing which war cannot give him, colonies and trade;—and, satisfied with subduing the Continent, he may be inclined to forego the chance of conquering us. If he really has no such views, and will only make peace upon extravagant terms, we must, of course, resolve to fight the battle out, and endeavour to forget by whom our safety has been endangered. But, in the present state of the Continent, if a peace can, upon tolerably good terms, be procured, it will surely be the height of folly to throw away the last chance of bringing back France to the pursuits of civil life, and rendering her a safe and quiet neighbour.

It is an exceedingly prevalent notion in this country, that the enemy is worse off than he affects to be, because he offers moderate terms to those powers whom he pretends to have conquered. He overruns Austria; and when he comes to talk of peace, he takes but a trifling part of her dominions, leaving her still a great nation. 'Is it possible' say the reasoners to whom we are alluding 'that he can really have gained such victories? No; he must feel that he can do no better;—he is afraid—he has got into some scrape—there is something rotten at home—or he knows that he shall be defeated if the war lasts.' Such have been the inferences from the enemy's moderation in former treaties; and, no doubt, the peace which he is about to make with our allies, will be liable to the same remarks. Nothing, however, can be worse founded than opinions of this sort; and nothing can be more fatal, than the delusions to which they give rise. The enemy knows very well, that by taking something at present, he may get more hereafter; and he is aware that he can only continue master of the question of peace and war, with a neighbour whom he has defeated, by giving, in the first instance, moderate terms. If he did otherwise, the treaty might be broken at a moment which did not suit him. To encroach gradually after the war has ended, is a part of the same policy which teaches him to move rapidly while it continues. We must lay our account, then, with his not remaining quiet now, any more than he did after the treaty of Presburg. But to delude ourselves with the hope, that because he is moderate in his terms, compared with the successes which he claims, therefore his pretensions are false; and to derive from them another inference, that by keeping alive some war on the Continent, or at least continuing at war ourselves, as a rallying point to the allies, we shall, in the end, beat him,—is a species of folly which would be ridiculous, were it confined to a few, and productive of less melancholy effects.

It is common with the same class of politicians to receive, as something akin to disaffection, every gloomy description of our own prospects, or those of our allies. When such a representation is made, they do not inquire whether it be true or false, although that is the only question; but they say, it tends to promote despondency. Those who fairly and honestly state the case as it is, are called prophets of evil, and preachers of despair—are plainly accused of wishing to see their own predictions realized—and more than suspected of assisting in their fulfilment. To all such thoughtless or designing persons, one answer may be sufficient. The evil foretold is a misery which must directly affect every human being in the country—it is an invasion of a large French army, either successful, or with difficulty repelled. This is a prospect which no rational creature can take any pleasure in contemplating. 'Then do not speak of it,' say the railers, 'it dispirits the people.' Not so—A nation, whom the timely view of their real situation can dispirit, will assuredly never face the danger when it comes near. But it is very possible to ensure a panic, with all its fatal consequences, among the bravest people, by feeding them with false hopes, stimulating their natural spirits by artificial means, and blindfolding them till the moment when the immediate approach of the danger requires them to act. Above all, a strong and general popular feeling against peace is to be dreaded by every wise statesman, if it be the result of such delusions; for, when the crisis is at hand, and the truth is known, a still stronger aversion to the war is likely to seize the multitude, and all spirit-stirring topics will surely fail. The mischiefs of such popular infatuation were felt, but in a very subordinate degree, during the Grand Alliance war; when the general aversion to a treaty upon moderate terms broke off the negotiations; and, being followed by an equally violent clamour for peace, brought about the most inadequate bargain that two nations ever made.

The wiser conduct is to look our situation in the face, while there is yet time to better it. We have constantly and gloriously vanquished all our enemies at sea;—we have gained the most honourable victories over superior forces by land;—we have suffered not a single reverse which can stain our reputation. But our allies have been destroyed, rather than conquered:—the world has need of repose,—and the war can no longer benefit any one except our enemy. This is our situation. We can lose no honour by fairly agreeing to treat;—by yielding something to the misfortunes, not of ourselves, but our friends —and by endeavouring to be *really* at peace, as soon as we have put an end to the war.

ART. IX. *Cobbett's Political Register.* 11 vol. 8vo. pp. innumerable. London 1802—1807.

WE are induced to take some notice of this Journal, because we are persuaded that it has more influence with that most important and most independent class of society, which stands just above the lowest, than was ever possessed before by any similar publication. Its circulation and its popularity are, we think, upon the whole, very creditable to the country. It is written with great freedom, and often with great force of argument. It flatters few national prejudices—except our love of detraction and abuse; and has often had the merit of maintaining bold truths, both against the party in power, and the prevailing sentiments of the nation. It consists, in general, of solid argument and copious detail; with little relief of general declamation, and no attraction of playfulness. It is a good sign of a people, we think, when a work of this description is generally read and studied among them. It can only be acceptable to men of some vigour of intellect, and some independence of principle; and it was, upon the whole, with feelings of pride and satisfaction, that we learned the extent of its circulation among the middling classes of the community, and the great superiority of its influence over that of the timid and venal prints, which subsist by flattering the prejudices of a party, or of the nation at large.

The author's original anti-jacobinism was, like all other anti-jacobinism after 1800, extravagant, scurrilous, and revolting. But this died away; and, for the three or four last years, till very lately, his influence, we believe, has been rather salutary, and we have been well pleased that such a Journal should be in existence. Disgusted as we have often been with his arrogance; irritated by his coarse and clamorous abuse; and wearied with the needless vehemence and disproportioned fury with which he frequently descanted on trifles, we could still admire his intrepidity, and respect his force of understanding; and were glad to have a Journal in which salutary truths could be strongly spoken, and which might serve as a vehicle for independent sentiments, and a record of necessary, but unpopular accusations. With this general impression, we could easily make allowance for the excesses into which the author was habitually betrayed, either by the defects of his education, or by his known political partialities; and after setting aside his raving about the funds and the committee at Lloyd's—his trash about the learned languages—and his ignorant scurrility about Mr Malthus—we had still some toleration in store for his zeal for the Bourbons, his horror at revolutions, and his jealousy of the democratical part of our constitution.

Within the last six months, however, he has undergone a most extraordinary and portentous transformation. Instead of the champion of establishment, of loyalty, and eternal war with all revolutionary agency, he has become the patron of reform and reformers; talks hopefully of revolutions; scoffingly of Parliament; and cavalierly of the Sovereign; and declaims upon the state of the representation, and on the iniquities of placemen and pensioners, in the very phrases which have been for some time laid aside by those whom he used to call Levellers and Jacobins.

The inconsistencies and apostasies of a common journalist, certainly are neither so rare, nor of such importance, as to deserve any notice from us. But Mr Cobbett is not quite a common journalist; and his case is somewhat peculiar. He has more influence, we believe, than all the other journalists put together; and that influence is still maintained, in a good degree, by the force of his personal character. He holds a high tone of patriotism and independence; he puts his name to all his publications; and manfully invites all who dissent from his opinions, to meet him in the fair field of public disputation. Another peculiarity in Mr Cobbett's case is, that he still stoutly asserts his consistency; and maintains, that with a very moderate allowance for the exaggerations of a disputant, and for actual changes in the position of our affairs, the doctrines which he now promulgates are the same which he has held and expressed from the beginning. He has neither professed to be converted like Mr Redhead Yorke, nor attempted to sneak silently to the other side like the herd of venal pamphleteers. Though our quarrel with him, therefore, be entirely on the score of the tendency of his later productions, the question of their consistency or inconsistency with his former professions is by no means indifferent to the issue. There are many who believe in him, partly at least, on account of the sturdy honesty to which he lays claim, and the tone of confidence with which he predicts what is to come, and pretends to have predicted whatever has actually occurred; and there are few, perhaps, of those who have received any impression from his writings, whose faith in his reasonings would not be diminished by a conviction of the inconsistency or versatility of his successive opinions, or a suspicion of the share that passion or party may have had in their formation. It is not, therefore, from any paltry or vindictive motive, but for the purpose of reducing his *authority* to its just standard, that we think it necessary, before entering upon the examination of his late doctrines, to make a few remarks on his title to the praise of consistency, and to exhibit some instances of what has certainly appeared to us as the most glaring and outrageous contradiction.

The first thing that would strike any one who had only known Mr Cobbett as the author of the Porcupine, and the earlier volumes of the Political Register, on looking into any of his later Numbers, would be the terms of high and unmeasured praise with which he speaks of the political principles and proceedings of Sir Francis Burdett. We were perfectly certain, that these same principles had formerly been the object of his most furious reprobation; and had an obscure recollection that the worthy Baronet himself had occasionally been subjected to the discipline of his pen. In looking back to the Register for the year 1802, we were surprised, however, to find the excess and scurrility of the abuse which was then poured out on the present idol of the author. Some of the following passages form so extraordinary a contrast with those which Mr Cobbett's readers have lately been in the habit of perusing, that we cannot resist the temptation of transcribing them.

In the Register for July 1802 (vol. II. p. 51), this loyal politician observes, 'To read the bills and advertisements which have 'been published in the county of Middlesex, one would believe 'that the contest was not between two gentlemen, but *between* '*the magistrates and the thieves*; and that the great body of those 'who have espoused the cause of Sir Francis Burdett, have done 'so with a hope, that, *if he were successful*, there would be an 'end to all legal punishment; and that *crimes of every sort might* '*be committed in perfect security.*' The same observation is repeated at p. 90. of the same volume, where it is facetiously observed, that, 'the road to Brentford is lined with ragged wretches 'from St Giles's, bawling out, Sir Francis Burdett, and no Bas-'tile; and at the Hustings, there are daily some half dozen con-'victs, who have served out their time in the house of correction, 'amusing *the rabble* with execrations on the head of Mr Mainwar-'ing,' &c. In the same spirit, the worthy Baronet is repeatedly branded as the friend of the convicted traitor O'Connor, and the acquitted traitor Horne Tooke, and held up to detestation as 'the 'demagogue with his crew,' or 'his gallows-hating citizens.' It would be endless to quote the passages in which this temper is indicated. The following may serve as a pretty fair specimen of the tone in which they are composed. 'To reason with such a man' (as Sir Francis Burdett) 'would be absurd. He must be treated 'with *silent contempt, or be combated with weapons very different* '*from a pen.* While, however, we declare our *abhorrence* of the 'principles and conduct of the man who, in alluding to the Bri-'tish government, speaks of "*hired* Magistrates, Parliaments, "and *Kings;*"—while we *detest and loathe Sir Francis Burdett;*— 'while we could *trample upon him* for the *false*, *base* and insolent

'insinuations respecting our and his Sovereign,' &c. &c. Pol. Reg. vol. II. p. 151.

Those who are in the habit of reading the Political Register, may find an amusing contrast to these effusions in almost any of the Numbers which have been published for the last six months. For the benefit of those who do not see that Journal, we shall extract a few passages. It is needless to quote any thing which he says in his laboured and pertinacious defence of the patriotic Baronet on occasion of his rupture with Mr Whitbread; in the course of which, he complains bitterly of his old favourite John Bowles, for having used 'the most false and scurrilous expressions relative to Sir Francis.' In vol. XI. p. 433, he is represented as having been uniformly hated by every party which had existed in his time, because they were *all* bent upon fattening on the public money, and knew that he would oppose them. In p. 871. of the same volume, he says to the electors of Westminster, 'If you succeed in causing Sir Francis Burdett to be 'returned to Parliament, you *will have done more for the* country in fourteen days, *than has been done for it during the last* 'hundred years.' At p. 990, there is this unequivocal confession of faith, 'We, the people of England, *feel that Sir Francis* 'Burdett is our best friend;—*we participate in his principles;*— 'we rely on his talents and integrity;—*we approve of his declarations;*—we despise the circulators of the a-hundred times refuted *calumnies* against him, and look forward, with confidence, 'to the day when those calumnies will be drowned in the unanimous applause of a *no longer besotted people.*' After this, it cannot surprise us to find our exulting author congratulating the country upon his being able to open a new volume with an account of 'the *chairing* of Sir Francis Burdett,' which he is pleased to consider as the memorable sign of an era in politics; and afterwards stating, that 'when the worthy Baronet's head became visible above the crowd, the air rang with a shout, in 'which, had the King been in town, he would have heard the 'voice of his people—the sound of that voice which he will, ere 'long, hear from all his subjects, the voice of love and admiration of those who are the real friends of the country, and of indignation at those who are its real enemies,' &c. This, we believe, is enough for our purpose; though it would be hard to withhold from our readers that spirited and liberal paragraph, in which Mr Cobbett, in expressing his indignation at the idea that the name of the ignoble Lord Howick should ever be connected with that of his darling patriot, is pleased to say, that if any man had told him that such a connexion had been hinted at, 'he would almost have been tempted to spit in his face!'

Now, we should like to know in what way Mr Cobbett, or Mr Cobbett's admirers, can reconcile these passages. They will scarcely venture to say, that Sir Francis Burdett has abandoned the principles which he held in 1802. Whatever may be his errors or his demerits, the worthy Baronet is entitled at least to the praise of consistency; and his late political addresses are at least as obnoxious to zealous loyalists and antijacobins, as those which excited Mr Cobbett's indignation at the first of those periods. But the *times* it will be said, have changed;—they have come round to Sir Francis, and have carried Mr Cobbett along with them!—This will not do; there is no man in his senses who will say, that in 1802 there was more to be apprehended from Jacobinism than in 1807, or that there was less need to clamour for a reform in parliament, and a check to corruption, at the former than at the latter period. It remains, then, that Mr Cobbett himself has changed.—We cannot help it; nor do we think there is any great harm in it: the change is perhaps for the better: for though we can by no means go along with the rapturous encomiums which he now bestows on the object of his former detestation, we really felt quite as much disgusted with the abuse which he then poured upon him. We never thought that the constitution was in any great danger from the worthy Baronet's plan of universal suffrage, and annual parliaments: and certainly are not of opinion, that his return to parliament is the most propitious and important event which has happened in England for the last hundred years. Both opinions appear to us to be somewhat absurd and irrational; but we cannot help thinking it a little extraordinary, that they should both have been zealously maintained by one and the same individual, and that this individual should take it into his head to value himself upon his political consistency. The merits of Mr Cobbett's new creed, we shall take occasion to appreciate by and by: we think it already pretty apparent, that it bears no great resemblance to his old one; and may perhaps be permitted to hint to his admirers, that it might be as well, if one whose faith is so liable to be unsettled, did not persecute with such intolerance all who ventured to oppose it.

But his conduct to Sir Francis Burdett, perhaps, is influenced by some private attachment, and his judgment of other public men is more temperate and consistent. We can see no proofs of this;—all are treated in the same way;—praised extravagantly to-day,—abused outrageously to-morrow. We do not recollect any one (except perhaps Mr Windham) of his original favourites, upon whom he has not heaped the ordure of his ignoble abuse; and scarcely one whom he reprobated at the beginning, who has not been compensated at last by the most preposterous encomiums.

Mr Pitt, at the beginning of his career, was the greatest of the great, the saviour of Europe, the most magnanimous of statesmen: lately, his readers have only heard of him under the appellation of 'that shallow-brained boaster,'—that patron of peculation,—that poor, hollow, bombastic declaimer, &c. Of Mr Fox, he said in 1802, that he never thought him a person of any political importance, or one who could ever have any weight in the councils of the nation, (vol. ii. p. 338.) He is even guilty of the atrocious absurdity of averring, with all the seriousness and animosity which he can muster for the occasion, that he believes the only object of that illustrious person's journey to Paris, in 1801, was *to make himself minister of this country by the help of Bonaparte.* (p. 343.) He thanks heaven, that of all his manifold sins, that of *ever* having, either in thought, word, or deed, been an adherent of Charles Fox, is not among the number; and that he only breaks through the *silence of disdain*, on account of the consequence which he derives from the friendship of the First Consul. (p. 714.) He more than insinuates his affection for rebels, regicides, and traitors; resents his 'loathsome calumnies' on the House of Stuart, and his 'miserable attempts to defend the characters of Russel and Sydney;' and concludes with asking, 'Where, Sir, shall I find, in all the cumbrous 'volumes of harangues which you have uttered during the last ten 'years of treasons and conspiracies against the throne and the life 'of your Sovereign, one single sentence or phrase expressive of 'your abhorrence of those diabolical machinations?' (p. 719.) To this despicable, disloyal, detestable statesman, Mr Cobbett has himself stated (vol. vi. p. 515.) that he afterwards *went over*; he calls him repeatedly, 'public-spirited and magnanimous;' and declares, that, out of the five great questions to which his life had been devoted, there never had been but one on which they disagreed. In a Number published since his death, he speaks of the departed statesman in the following terms. 'He 'who was in his nature kind and indulgent to a fault; who was 'wonderfully *gifted* in the faculty of perceiving and of judging; 'whose *heart and mind were always disposed to the right side*; 'and who only wanted, as Major Cartwright observes, the reso-'lution to say nay to bad men.' (vol. xi. p. 593.) The truth of this character might atone for much hastiness or error; but nothing can expiate the base scurrility with which it stands contrasted; nor was it fit that an encomium on Mr Fox should be pronounced by lips polluted with libels, which only atoned for their malignity by their gross and contemptible absurdity.

The minor characters are treated in the same manner. Mr Sheridan is a very eloquent and patriotic person, while he is opposed to Mr Addington; when he stands against Sir Francis

Burdet, he is a peculator,—a player,—and a tool of corruption. Horne Tooke is branded through many volumes, as a republican, Jacobin and demagogue. He is even accused pretty distinctly of having been guilty of high treason; and yet we find, in a late Number (vol. xi. p. 872.), a most gracious and polite invitation to him to come forward for the public service; 'nor do I believe' says Mr Cobbett, 'that if the gentleman who is represented as 'having such absolute power over Sir Francis Burdett were once 'more to stand forward in public life, he could in a short time 'hence meet with any of the *prejudices* which have heretofore 'existed against him.' Even Mr Bowles, who is now the constant object of Mr Cobbett's scorn and derision, was once considered by him in the light of a respectable coadjutor. In the second volume we hear of his valuable pamphlets, and of Mr Cobbett's entire acquiescence in the sentiments they contain. The sentiments of Mr Bowles, for which we certainly entertain no great respect, were always, we believe, the same which he now professes.

Now, what is it that we infer from this strange alternation of praise and blame in the pages of Mr Cobbett? Why, that nobody should care much for either; that they are bestowed from passion or party prejudice, and not from any sound principles of judgment; and that it must be the most foolish of all things, to take our impressions of the merit of any individual, from a man whose own opinions have not only varied, but been absolutely reversed, within these four years. The consideration of this versatility in Mr Cobbett's likings and dislikings, has, we will confess, been a considerable encouragement to us in the task of reviewing his lucubrations. When we first felt it to be our duty to point out the pernicious parts of his tenets, we were a little appalled by the prospect of the weekly abuse with which we lay our account with being rewarded; but when we discovered, in the course of our reading, how kindly he repays the victims of his occasional reprobation, we grew quite easy upon that subject;—satisfied that, if he should abuse us for a month or two to come, he will make us ample amends in the long-run, and end by being the most devoted of our admirers.

Hitherto we have only spoken of Mr Cobbett's opinions of men; and though they are opinions of public men, and delivered on public principles, we are willing to admit the plea, that they may have been influenced by the caprices of personal affection; and that the charge of inconsistency is not completely made out, unless it can be shown that his opinions have undergone as great a change with regard to the substantial measures of policy which he has always been occupied in discussing, as with regard to the

merits of the individuals by whom they have been proposed. And here it may be proper to remark, that it is no test of consistency at all, for a writer to be able to say, I have always been an enemy to peculation; or, I have uniformly been a friend to the constitution. No man in this country ever pretended to defend peculation, or to impugn the constitution in direct terms; nor have any parties ever been arrayed against each other, who were not perfectly agreed as to these and other general propositions. It is not then in his uniform professions of attachment to the constitution, or of hostility to those who endanger it, that we are to look for the evidence of Mr Cobbett's political consistency. It is in the specific measures which he has successively held out as necessary for its defence, and the views and arguments by which he has at different times affected to support it.

After having been himself, for ten years, by far the loudest and most violent of those who endeavoured to terrify us with the dangers of Jacobinism, and the example of the French revolution, Mr Cobbett could sit down coolly, on the 11th of July 1807, and write these words. 'For the last fourteen years, a-'larms referring to the French revolution, have from time to time 'been played off upon this nation, and that too with woeful and '*disgraceful* success. To these alarms, artfully excited and kept 'up, the country owes almost the whole of her present difficul-'ties; for, had it not been for the fear men entertained of the 'overthrow of all order, law, and religion, Pitt never could have 'held so long that power, by the exercise of which he entailed 'such a train of curses upon us. Let the people look to this. 'Let them take care not to be alarmed again into an approbation 'of seven years suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act. Let them 'take special care not to be persuaded, that the only way to have 'their liberties secured, is to have them taken away from them.' (vol. xii. p. 36.) This is pretty well for a general specimen of consistency; but it is better to be somewhat more particular.

The points upon which Mr Cobbett has descanted with the greatest zeal and animation for the last four months, are, 1st, The necessity of a reform in the representation; 2d, The benefit of frequent elections; and, 3d, The necessity of removing all placemen as well as pensioners from the houses of Parliament. Now, upon each of these subjects, we have had the benefit of perusing his opinions some years ago; and the comparison of those opinions with the doctrines which he now maintains with so much zeal and confidence, furnishes a contrast, we are happy to say, not less instructive and amusing, than that which has been already presented in his judgments of individuals.

Upon the subject of parliamentary reform, we have a pretty

decisive diatribe in an angry letter to Mr Wilberforce in January 1803. The leading accusation against that gentleman is, that he had once patronized that detestable cause. 'Of the clamours for 'parliamentary reform,' says he, 'first begun by you and your 'associates, how numerous and how great have been the evils! 'No small portion of the discontents and dangers which have ex- 'isted in England and Ireland, arose from the doctrines promul- 'gated by the parliamentary reformers; whose wild notions, inco- 'herent plans, and nonsensical phrases, were adopted by all those 'seditious and treasonable combinations which,' &c. He then falls foul, in still stronger terms, of the reform societies of 1782 and 1785; and after stating, in italics, that 'Horne Tooke, who 'was prosecuted for high treason, pleaded, in defence, that *his* 'society had in view no other object than that which had been 'pursued by you and your coadjutors,' he goes on to conclude, that 'the principles broached and promulgated by you and your 'associates were such as led to the commission of high treason, 'the most heinous of all earthly offences—the compassing and 'imagining the death of the King.' vol. III. p. 35. There are many other passages in which the same principles are delivered; and not only the rebellions in Ireland, but the revolution in France, referred to the pernicious example of those among us who first set on foot 'those wild and presumptuous projects' for parliamentary reform.

After this, it is really edifying to hear Mr Cobbett exclaiming, in the bitterness of his heart, 'the people know very well how the House of Commons is chosen;' and actually quoting the words and resolutions of the very reformers of 1782, in order to ask Mr Perceval whether, in such a state of the representation, it be not a mockery to call an election an appeal to the sense of the people, or 'whether men ought to be reviled, and punish- 'ed as traitors and seditious libellers, because they are discon- 'tented with such a state of things,—because they wish for, and 'seek, an improvement in the representation. And I put it to 'your reason,' he adds, 'whether the upholding *such a state of* 'things, and such revilings and punishings, be the likely means 'of calling forth the zeal of the people in defence of the govern- 'ment.' vol. XI. p. 863. Throughout all the later Numbers, indeed, his main ground of accusation against the Whigs, as well as the followers of Mr Pitt, is, that none of them took any measure, while in power, for carrying into effect those great plans of parliamentary reform, for which they had affected so much zeal while in opposition.

Upon the same important subject, combined with the consideration of the effects of frequent election, we have a still fuller and more elaborate picture of Mr Cobbett's original sentiments,

in his summary of politics for June 1802. He there observes, on occasion of a recent dissolution of Parliament, that 'the people had been told, in two *factious* addresses, that they are not represented in the House of Commons; that that assembly is no longer what it used to be; and that, until it be reformed, it is in vain for them to hope for any good from that quarter.' How exactly those factious addresses coincide with Mr Cobbett's own sentiments in his late letters to the Electors of Westminster, none of his readers can fail to perceive. In 1802, however, he not only calls them factious, but goes on to state, that 'the words '*representation* and *elective franchise*, have done much towards 'confusing the brains, and corrupting the hearts of his Majesty's 'subjects; and though he has not the power of dissipating the '*fatal delusion*, it is yet his duty to contribute his mite to the attempt.' In the prosecution of this laudable endeavour, he presents his readers with a picture of the miserable state of the representation in one of the states of America, 'where the elective 'franchise was as universal as even Sir Francis Burdett could have 'wished it;' and assures them that the choice frequently fell upon bankrupts, swindlers, quacks, atheists, &c. The rationale of all which he gives very much at his ease as follows. 'The 'cause of their preposterous choice is this. The mass of the people of all nations are so fond of nothing as of power. *Men of 'sense know that the people can in reality exercise no power which 'will not tend to their own injury.* Hence it is, that in states where 'the popular voice is unchecked by a royal, or some other hereditary influence, that voice is, *nine times out of ten, given in favour 'of those fawning parasites*, who, in order to gratify their own interest and ambition, profess to acknowledge no sovereignty but 'that of the people, and who, when they once get into power, rule 'the poor sovereign with a rod of scorpions,' &c. He then quotes an American pamphleteer in proof of the shocking state of the legislatures in that republic; and concludes, 'Such, Englishmen, is 'the description of a legislative assembly, where "equal repre"sentation" prevails; where almost every man has a vote at elections; and where these elections do annually occur. The *ambitious knaves*, who flatter you with high notions of your rights and 'privileges,—who are everlastingly driving in your ears the 'blessings of what they call the elective franchise, wish to add to 'the number of electors, because they well know that they would 'thereby gain an accession of strength,' &c. vol. I. p. 795.

Compare, with these passages, the whole tenor of the author's late addresses to the electors of Westminster, and, in particular, his late anticipation of another Westminster election, which, he says, 'will be a great good,—an unmixed good,—a good indisputable,

'—a good which will make up for many and many an evil;' and the passages where he says, 'So unequivocal are the advantages 'of an election, to the people at least, that I should suppose 'there are very few persons unconnected with the late ministry 'who must not rejoice at the prospect. To chuse our repre-'sentatives, is among the most precious of our rights. It is 'our just franchise; and can there be a voter in the whole king-'dom who objects to have an occasion to exercise it? Can the 'exercise of it come too often?' &c. &c. In the same tone he quotes, with warm approbation, the *excellent* speech of Mr Frend (vol. XII. p. 10.), in which it is stated, 'The public demands 'that the members of the House of Commons be the repre-'sentatives of the public, not the choice of a few private indi-'viduals; that parliaments be frequent, so that the members 'may not lose sight of their duty to their constituents,' &c.

Mr Cobbett's great modern theme, however, is his detestation of placemen and pensioners; and the leading argument—if we must call it argument—of his late Numbers, is directed to show, that there can be no salvation for England, till every individual of this hateful description be excluded from the Houses of Parliament. This, so far as we can gather, is the sum and substance, the beginning and end of the reform by which alone we can be saved from destruction. We are wearied now of turning over the close printed pages of his former Numbers for doctrines exactly opposed to this. We are very much mistaken, however, if they are not to be found there; and are perfectly positive that no hints of this new creed are to be met with in any writing of his, published so long as two years ago. This, of itself, is quite decisive as to the state of his former opinions. Placemen and pensioners have sat in Parliament for upwards of a hundred years; and yet Mr Cobbett had been ten years a patriotic journalist in this country, before he found it necessary to say one word against this dreadful abuse. He will scarcely pretend that there are more placemen now in Parliament than there were three years ago; and if their existence there be now so mortal to the constitution, that nothing short of their total expulsion can give us a chance for its preservation, it surely must have been his duty to have proposed such a measure before Sir Francis Burdett put it into his famous address to the Electors of Middlesex. The merits of the doctrine itself we shall consider immediately. We are now speaking only of Mr Cobbett's consistency in insisting on it as obviously indispensable to our salvation. We have just fallen by accident upon the following passage, in an abusive letter to Mr Wilberforce in December 1802, in which the propriety and legality of placemen sitting in Parliament seems to be pretty clearly taken

for granted. Discoursing of Parliamentary disinterestedness, he says—'Though present experience teaches us that some men 'certainly wish for office, to gratify their own covetousness and 'vanity; there are others, and, I trust, *a far greater number*, 'who, in their pursuit of power, are actuated by the noble motive of advancing the power and happiness of their Sovereign 'and their country. That considerations of a private nature,—'the desire of posthumous, and even of present fame, may mix 'themselves along with this great leading public motive, I allow:—But, Sir, I defy you to show me, in the conduct of a '*placeman* of this description, any presumption that he has 'made the choice of his *electors* subservient to his own interest 'or aggrandizement, which will not apply with equal, or with 'greater, force to yourself,' &c.

There is only one other subject, we think, upon which Mr Cobbett used formerly to enlarge with such frequency and zeal as to make it one of the fair characteristics of his peculiar opinions; we mean his ardent love and veneration for the person and family of the Sovereign, and for royalty indeed in general. In his earlier volumes, there is much fulsome cant and disgusting raving of this sort; but since he has embraced the creed of Sir Francis Burdett, this fine spirit of devoted loyalty seems to be pretty well evaporated. In his Number for 24th March 1807, he defends the toast of 'our Sovereign the People,' given at one of the worthy Baronet's dinners, and says, he has no other objection to it than that 'it is not of plain unequivocal meaning.' He treats with considerable derision a loyal correspondent, who had said, he trusted every true Englishman would shed the last drop of his blood in support of his King;—tells him the King has about 200,000 gentlemen in red and blue jackets whose business it is to support him, and that he is able to take care of himself;—and that such views of devotion may be reasonable and manly when we see the King giving up any point whatever, however loudly called for, or from whatever quarter. After this he proceeds to justify the party at the said dinner for omitting to drink the King's health;—contends that this is merely a voluntary expression of admiration of his conduct,—and that, for his own part, since the introduction of so many Hanoverian soldiers, the exemption of the King's property from the income-tax, and one or two other suspicious things of the same description, he has not felt quite so much of that admiration, and does not choose voluntarily to come forward with expressions of that sentiment, &c. (vol. XI. p. 436.) Is it too much to say, that the zealous advocate of the Bourbons, and of all their connexions, might have been expected to speak of the sons of his own Sovereign in terms of less contempt and acrimony? His

observations on the Dukes of York and Clarence, though we had no great objection to their substance, are certainly too much in the style of the professed enemies of royalty.

We have dwelt on this subject too long; but we conceive that the charge of inconsistency is made out completely: and though we do not by any means marvel, as Mr Cobbett is moved to do on a similar occasion, 'how a man can hold up his head, or even exist, under the proof of such glaring tergiversation,' we do think ourselves entitled to say, that the proof which we have now detailed should disable his judgment, and detract from his authority, upon all the subjects to which that proof is applicable. Whatever influence or reputation he may have acquired by his earlier writings, should operate against the doctrines which he is now employed in promulgating; and all the effect which his arguments have produced on his admirers, should turn to the prejudice of the maxims to which he now requires their assent. A man who had never been zealous for his party or his opinions, may desert them without much reproach; but it must always be an awkward evolution for one who had been distinguished for confidence and clamour, and who has no sooner made the transition, than he renews the violence and abuse which he had formerly exerted on the opposite side. By the uncharitable, such a man will always be regarded as a professional bully, without principle or sincerity,—whose services may be bought by any one who will pay their price to his avarice or other passions;—and the most liberal must consider him as a person without any steadiness or depth of judgment;—accustomed to be led away by hasty views and occasional impressions;—entitled to no weight or authority in questions of delicacy or importance;—and likely to be found in arms against his old associates on every material change in his own condition, or that of the country.

The only important question, however, as we have more than once intimated already, is not whether Mr Cobbett's recent doctrines are reconcileable to those which he formerly maintained, but whether they are reconcileable to truth and to the interests of the country. It is only with his recent doctrines—the current series of his opinions—that we have any interest or concern;—his earlier volumes are beyond our reach;—they have done their work of mischief or utility, and passed away;—and the effect which they have produced, can no longer be either enforced or counteracted. He has been busied, however, for some months past, in a task which is not yet finished, and is still in the act of enforcing certain positions, the general adoption or rejection of which, may produce, as it appears to us, very important effects on the interests and happiness of the whole community. It is not too late, therefore, to inquire, whether those effects are likely to be pernicious

or salutary,—to detect what is deleterious in the nostrum that is just handing out among the multitude,—and to exhibit an antidote to the poison, of which the doses are at this moment making up.

We have not the slightest hesitation in saying, that the doctrines maintained by Mr Cobbett for the last four months, and especially since he has espoused the cause of Sir Francis Burdett, are in the highest degree pernicious and reprehensible; and that it is solely for the purpose of exposing and discrediting them, that we have been induced to enter upon our present irksome task. The sum and substance of our objections to the recent Numbers of the Political Register, is, that they are all obviously intended to beget a distrust and contempt of every individual connected with public life, except only Sir Francis Burdett and his adherents,—to spread abroad a general discontent and disrespect for the constitution, usages, principles and proceedings of Parliament,—to communicate a very exaggerated and unfair impression of the evils, abuses and inconveniences, which arise from the present system of government,—and to hold out the absolute impossibility of correcting or amending these, without some great internal change, of the nature of a political revolution. Under the present system, Mr Cobbett maintains, that our only rational feelings are contempt and detestation of our rulers, and despair of any relief or improvement, except by its total subversion: and with this impression, it will easily be understood, that he looks forward to a revolution, not only without sadness or dismay, but with a kind of vindictive eagerness and delight. He foretels it with much confidence and complacency; and does his utmost, we must say, to accomplish his own prediction. The natural conclusion from all this is, that a state of things, so miserable and so desperate, is not worth contending for; and that foreign conquest would not be so very great an evil as our rulers would fain persuade us to imagine. We do not say, that Mr Cobbett directly draws this last conclusion; but it seems to follow inevitably from his premises; and he does make use of expressions, which satisfy us that he has had it in contemplation, without being much appalled or startled at its aspect. We shall, first, endeavour to satisfy our readers, that we impute these doctrines to our author upon sufficient grounds; and then we shall consider, in how far it is possible for him to justify them, on the score either of patriotism or of truth.

As to the proof of the fact, it might perhaps be sufficient to refer, in a general way, to the import of the passages we have already had occasion to quote from the recent Numbers, and particularly to those in which the author expresses his entire assent and approbation of Sir Francis Burdett's addresses to his electors.

XUM

In these addresses, as well as in Mr Cobbett's defence of them, both the parties who now divide Parliament are stigmatized as equally possessed by a sordid spirit of self-interest and individual aggrandizement; and, though differing in every thing else, disposed to unite heartily against any one who might attack the system of jobbing and corruption to which both of them are devoted. Now, these parties, it is to be observed, include every one member of either of the Houses of Parliament; and, indeed, every one individual who is at all known to the public in a political capacity,—except only Sir Francis Burdett, and those who professedly adhere to him. Yet both these parties, and all their adherents, are uniformly represented, in the work before us, as corrupted, venal wretches, intent upon fattening on the public money, and never quarrelling in earnest about any thing but their shares of it. The present Ministers, and their adherents, are honoured with the appellation of 'ousted Treasury clerks,' and the 'no-popery faction;' while all who are opposed to them, are massed under the general name of 'the rump of whiggism,' and treated with a still more plentiful share of contumely and abuse.

That these censures do actually apply to the whole Legislature, and were really intended to have this extensive application, is manifest, we think, from the terms in which they are conceived; but Mr Cobbett has left no room for doubt on the subject, and has delivered his sentiments of the whole collective assembly, in terms that admit of no misconstruction. After saying of the late Parliament, that, for its treatment of Mr Paul alone, 'it deserved *a death something more than political*,' and that its proceedings would have become an assembly of ba-haws, he adds, 'I rejoice that it no longer 'exists. I rejoice that I have an opportunity of speaking my 'mind of it. But its successor!—No matter! I care not for that,' &c. &c. Of this successor, however, he favours us with his sentiments by and by, in pretty plain terms. In speaking of the motion for adding Sir Francis Burdett's name to the committee of finance, he says, 'With respect to the rejection of Sir Francis by 'the House, the thing was quite natural. It was what the peo- 'ple would in such a case expect. Had he not been rejected, I 'should have been extremely sorry; because it would have led me 'to suspect that all was not right.' vol. XII. p. 50. In a subsequent Number, he is pleased to say, 'I see not the least room 'to suppose, that any insinuations, however foul, can sink the 'character of the House in the opinion of the country. No; the 'House is not to be affected by insinuations of any sort. Its cha- 'racter has long been such as to set all insinuations at defiance. I 'venture to assert, that its character is far beyond the reach of de- 'traction,' &c. &c. p. 74. After this, we need not quote any of his

sneers at the *Honourable* House, and its faithful guardianship of the public purse,—or at the House of Lords, 'where the whole 'hereditary wisdom and honour of the nation are seated.' Still less can it be necessary to retail any of his good old democratical sayings as to the inadequacy of the representation; or his prophetic denunciation to Mr Fox, that if the 'system of Pitt was not a-'bandoned, the consequence infallibly would be, the annihilation 'of all confidence on the part of the people in the then existing 'race of public men.'

What we have now referred to, may suffice as evidence of Mr Cobbett's opinion of Parliament and public men. He has disqualified the whole of its present members, of all parties and descriptions, and the whole of those who were opposed to them, with the single exception of Sir Francis Burdett and his friends; and no good, he tells us, can be expected from that quarter, till it be filled with persons of their principles and description. The established constitution and usages of Parliament meet with as little toleration as its present composition. No placemen or pensioners are to have seats in either House. In other words, the ministers, who, from their situation and talents, must soonest see the need there is for new laws, and most thoroughly understand their operation, are to have no voice either in proposing or resisting them; and the blessed effect of this is to be, that 'the House of Com-'mons will be as dull as a Quaker meeting; no fixed days for de-'bating, as it is called; no speeches of three hours long; and the 'King might then change his servants when he pleased, without 'any commotion in that House, which has no more business with 'such changes than the mountebanks of Bartholomew fair have;' —'and this,' adds Mr Cobbett, 'would be the way to begin to 'fight France.' vol. xi. p. 1087.

As to the usages and forms of proceeding in Parliament, which are matters indeed of far inferior importance, they are treated throughout with the same spirit of derision and contempt. As to the right and the form of petitioning, for instance, Mr Cobbett takes occasion to say, that really the being permitted to pray does not seem a privilege worth boasting of; and when it is considered that the persons praying are addressing their own *representatives*, he can see no occasion for such excessively humble and cringing language. He then proceeds—

'But, gentlemen, though we may be permitted to write a prayer, we can none of us utter that prayer to the objects of our application. It must be so uttered by some member upon whom we may (*by some means or other*) prevail to become our propitiator; that is to say, before we can bring our prayer before the House, we must obtain the special consent of one of its own members. Having succeeded so

far, our petition is allowed to be read by a clerk, who sits at a table in the middle of the House; and, a very great comfort it is to one to know, that one's prayer has passed through the lips of a man who wears a black gown and a three-tailed wig, and who, as it were for the purpose of preserving *clean hands*, always writes in gloves. But, though read, it is not yet certain that our petition will be attended to. Attended to, did I say? It must first undergo the ceremony of a motion and of a vote; it must have a majority in its favour before it can be permitted to *lye upon the table*; and, when it has arrived at that honour, another motion and another vote of the majority is required, before any thing can be done in consequence of this our humble prayer; for "humble" it must be, that being a quality absolutely indispensable.' vol. xi. p. 390.

We have quoted this passage at some length, not because it contains any thing very important or very offensive in its substance, but as a fair specimen of the irreverent and derisive style in which the author habitually speaks of an institution, from which no good man would wish to alienate the affection or respect of the country.

With regard to the gross and inflammatory exaggerations by which he constantly endeavours to excite the indignation and discontent of the people, as to the disadvantages of their situation, and the abuses to which they may be referred, it would be endless to quote the multitude of passages in which they occur. The immense numbers of the poor, and the incapacity of a labourer to subsist a small family from his wages, are repeatedly held forward, and imputed, with the most unblushing confidence, to the number of sinecures, the extent of peculation, and the system of funding. He loves to talk of the necessity of changing 'a system by which forty millions a year of the people's savings 'are collected and distributed into hands, through which they 'naturally pass to the metropolis, and there as naturally produce 'all the vices of which we complain.' The following passage, however, is particularly curious. If Mr Cobbett believes the statement in it to be true, it may be regarded as the key to that extraordinary revolution in his opinions which we set out with remarking; and, at all events, it may serve to show the opinions which he wishes to inculcate, and the lengths to which passion or prejudice can carry him. After observing that public men, in general, seemed not to be sufficiently sensible of the great change which had taken place in the general way of thinking on politics since 1801, and especially since the affair of Lord Melville, and that antijacobinism, which had previously been a thriving trade, had since been on the decline, he takes occasion to observe, 'There was a time when a cry about jacobinism or danger to 'the Church would have had great weight. But those *cries* have

'seen *their day pass;* every man's attention being now turned to 'the abuses in the expenditure of the public money.' And afterwards, 'This, I repeat it, is the *sole* point upon which men's at-'tention is now earnestly fixed. Of *the affairs of the Continent,*—'of conquests in South America,—and of *means of defence at* '*home,* they have not leisure to think. The reading of tax-pa-'pers, and the providing for the incessant demands of the tax-'gatherer, take up all their time. Their present grievous bur-'dens is the only subject upon which they can be expected to 'think; and, while they feel these burdens, they know that e-'normous peculations remain unpunished; they see no hope of 'preventing them for the future; and they feel as men must feel 'under such circumstances.' *Vol.* xi. p. 816.

A people thus defrauded of its political rights, and oppressed in its private circumstances, certainly could have no great inducement to fight for a constitution which imposed and perpetuated such abominations; nor could it look forward to the subversion of such a constitution, but as to a deliverance from tyranny, and a chance of restoration to happiness. If Mr Cobbett had intended, therefore, to render his countrymen indifferent as to foreign conquest, and desirous of internal revolution, he could not have employed other means than those to which he has actually resorted. We pretend not to judge of his intentions as to others; but, for his own individual part, he has spoken his opinion pretty freely, at least as to the probability and desirableness of a revolution. There are scattered throughout all his late Numbers general expressions of prophetic exultation to this effect;—that the day of the people will come,—that a terrible contest will soon succeed to the wars of faction,—and that a radical change must be made in our internal system. The following passage, however, is more full and explicit. After alluding to certain advertisements about the purchase of seats in Parliament, Mr Cobbett observes—

'From one corner of the kingdom to the other, corruption extends his baleful, his serpent-hatching wings. *Can this last? Ought it to last?* Of what avail is it, that the miscreants engaged in this infamous traffic call us jacobins and levellers? Will any of them say that this ought to be? Has any one of them the ingenuity to find *out any thing, even in imagination, worse than this?* Polititians *may endeavour to alarm us with cries of revolution,* and divines may preach to us *about hell;* but, if the one can find any thing *more disgraceful,* or the other any thing *more damnable,* than what is described in these advertisements, I beseech them speedily to exhibit it to our view. Fifty-seven of these advertisements have I read in the London daily papers; and I defy any man living to produce *me, in the history of the whole world, any thing so completely descriptive of national degradation.* Well may Mr Fawkes say, in his address to his late constituents of the county of York, that a seat in parliament, which he once regarded

as the height of a laudable ambition, he now views in quite a different light; and the only wonder is, that he should have been till now in the dark upon the subject. Again I call upon our accusers, upon those who, for hire, denominate us jacobins and levellers, and who cry aloud for the preservation of the constitution, to say whether the constitution sanctions these things. If it does, what an infamous imposture it is!—and, if it does not, it is we, and not our revilers, who are endeavouring to support the constitution of England. Aye, it is we who would restore and support the constitution; the real constitution; that constitution which so strictly forbids the buying or the selling of a single vote, much more a seat in parliament; that constitution which inhibits peers from any sort of interference in elections, and that supposes it impossible that any peer should, in any way, send a member to the Commons' House; that constitution, in short, which forbids, in the strongest terms, and under severe penalties, every one of the abuses of which we complain: and yet have the hireling revilers the audacity to reproach us with a wish to overturn the consitution! *In such a state the country cannot long remain. No country has ever long remained in such a state.* Those who have an evident interest in perpetuating abuses of all sorts, *may endeavour to terrify the people with the consequences of what is called a revolution*: and, from a revolution, in the usual sense of the word, as applied to politics, God preserve us!—*but a change, and a great change too, must come; and come it will, in one way or another, and that at no distant day.*' Vol. xi. p. 836–7.

With regard to the probability and the effects of invasion, Mr Cobbett says, he 'is firmly persuaded that Bonaparte never meditated a march to the Rhine with more determination than he meditates the invasion of England or Ireland, and that it would be infatuation unparalleled to suppose that he should leave these kingdoms untried:' and then, on diverse occasions, he expresses his apprehensions, that if their grievances be not redressed, the people may not think the country worth fighting for; and maintains, that to uphold the present system of things, is not the way to call forth their zeal in defence of the Government. The most offensive, and, we think, the most suspicious, passage we have met with upon the subject, is in the last Number which has reached us. The author is there pleased to say—

'I have, from long thinking upon the subject, brought myself to a conviction, that the French never will succeed in subduing us. The *why* and the *wherefore* I might have some difficulty in detailing; but the conviction I entertain, and under it I am easy; and, what is more, I am fully persuaded, that, however some persons may tremble, this conviction is felt by ninety-nine out of every hundred men in the nation. I do not reason much upon the matter. I have done asking how the French can get here, or to Ireland, and how we are able to repel them. I know the enemy to be powerful by land, and that he may soon become powerful by sea; I see the force of all Europe collected against us, and

I have considered in detail the probable acts of such a conqueror. But when I consider who we have for Commanders, and particularly for Commander in Chief; when I consider the strength of our armies; when I consider the extent of our immense resources, and the manner of distributing those resources; when I consider, in short, the whole of the force and state of the nation, the whole of the scene that lies before me,—I stop not to reason, but involuntarily exclaim, Buonaparte, I set thy utmost ingenuity, power, and malice, at defiance!' Vol. xii. p. 84–5.

Now we know Mr Cobbett's opinion of our Commanders, and of our Commander in Chief; and we have no quarrel with him for that opinion; but knowing what it is, we ask, whether any man, capable of serious counsel or of proper feeling, could possibly conceive such a crisis of such a country as a suitable subject for derision, or for such *asinine* attempts at irony and humour as are exhibited in this passage?—At such a time, it is the duty of all who possess, or who hope for, any influence over their fellow-citizens, to point out the dangers of the country, and the means by which they may be averted. To affect to be jocular upon such a theme; and, with a full conviction of the danger, to present us, instead of counsels or exhortations, with paltry gibes and personalities, appears to us to be at once despicable and insulting, and to indicate a lamentable deficiency both in the head and the heart of the author.

Having thus endeavoured, in as short compass as possible, to justify the representation we have given of the actual tenor of Mr Cobbett's recent doctrines, we shall proceed to consider, in a few words, in how far the doctrines themselves admit of justification.

Laying aside his mere general commonplaces of discontent and disaffection, we think Mr Cobbett's whole argument may be reduced to this single proposition,—That all the evils under which we are groaning, are produced by the improper composition of the legislative bodies, and especially of the House of Commons. The evil in its composition is twofold. *First*, That the members are not fairly chosen by the people, but are either nominated by the influence of great families, or purchase their seats from a junto of venal electors; and, *secondly*, That placemen and pensioners are allowed to sit in both houses. The radical evil to which this faulty constitution necessarily gives rise, is, that the members of parliament, instead of deliberating for the general good, are engaged in a constant scramble for place and emolument; that all sorts of jobbing and peculation are winked at, for the sake of securing votes; and that pensions and sinecure places are multiplied for the same unconstitutional purpose. All our other miseries, it seems, may be traced back to this fruitful source

of destruction. The remedy, however, is happily very obvious and easy. Make the elective franchise more wise and equal, and purge the houses of parliament entirely of placemen and pensioners; and 'the whole will be accomplished in a year:' But, till this be done, the people can take no interest in the proceedings of Government; nor can any revolution make our state more desperate or disgraceful than it is.

Now, the first stand we would make against Mr Cobbet's disheartening representations, is on the ground of this last practical conclusion. Admitting the whole of his comprehensive premises, we object stoutly to his ultimate conclusion; and maintain, that it is very easy to imagine something a great deal worse than the present constitution of this country, with all its rotten boroughs, sinecure offices, and placemen and pensioners in parliament; and that, even allowing all these to be evils as enormous as they are now represented, there is still such a vast overbalance of good in our situation, as is well worth a struggle to preserve; and that revolution or conquest is to be regarded therefore with the utmost abhorrence and dismay.

This is a question of fact, and its determination is fortunately as obvious as it is important. So far from being a country, the measure of whose sufferings is full, and to which every change must be gain, we conceive it to be obvious, on a very slight consideration, that we have attained a greater portion of happiness and civil liberty, than have ever before been enjoyed by any other nation; and that the frame and administration of our polity is, with all its defects, the most perfect and beneficial of any that men have yet invented and reduced to practice. We have perfect liberty of person, and security of property;—we have an administration of law, both civil and criminal, that is not only impartial, but unsuspected;—we have freedom of speech and of publication, beyond what any other people ever experienced;—we have wealth, and police and morality, superior to any other country; and we have no privileged orders possessing a monopoly of the honours and dignities of the state. These advantages we have attained under our present system of government; and, under it, there does not seem to be any reason to doubt that they may be preserved to us unimpaired. We conceive, therefore, that so far from having little to lose by conquest or revolution, we have infinitely more than was ever possessed by any other people; and that, as the good which we already have, greatly exceeds that of which we imagine we are deprived, it would be in the highest degree criminal and imprudent to expose it to any considerable hazard, for the desperate chance of increasing it by the uncertain issue of a revolution. If these things, however, be at all as we

have now represented them, what shall we think of the patriotism or the wisdom of those who, in spite of all this, maintain, that the country is in a deplorable state, and ripening rapidly for destruction,—who do what they can to weaken the attachment of its citizens,—and labour, both directly and indirectly, to render them indifferent to its fate, at a moment when nothing perhaps but the most devoted and unanimous zeal can effect its salvation?

The country which enjoys these advantages must be worth fighting for, whatever may be the defects of its government. This is our first position. Our second is, that the government cannot be utterly bad and detestable under which these advantages have been obtained and secured for so long a period. This requires no commentary for practical purposes. But it is not our intention to evade the inquiry to which Mr Cobbett has defied us; and we shall proceed therefore to consider what is the true nature and extent of the defects of which this patriot complains so vehemently, and whether the evils on which he has enlarged are truly imputable to those defects.

We most cordially agree with Mr Cobbett at the outset, that there is a great deal too much scrambling for place and emolument, both in and out of Parliament; and that the nation suffers, and has suffered, in its substantial interests, from this ignoble scramble. We admit also, that those who sell their votes for money act a very base and dishonourable part, and that those who buy them are not a great deal better; but we deny, that this scramble arises either from there being placemen and pensioners in Parliament,—or from the interference of peers in elections,—or from the venality of certain boroughs;—and, so far from being of opinion that the alteration of those parts of our system, according to the suggestion of Mr Cobbett, would cure this or any other evil, we are persuaded that such a measure would have a contrary effect. Placemen, we think, are better in Parliament than any where else;—the influence of great families in the election of members is rather beneficial than pernicious;—and the sale of boroughs, though dishonourable to those who are concerned in it, is in no danger of going to such an extent as to put the constitution in any hazard. It will not require very many words, we trust, to explain ourselves as to all these particulars.

The discussion may perhaps be facilitated by first considering, in a general way, what are the duties and functions which a parliament has to perform in regard to the people, and what are its requisites for the performance of those functions. On a former occasion * we endeavoured to show, that the most perfect repre-

* Vol. VI. p. 143, &c.

sentative legislature must be that which reunited in itself the greatest proportion of the effective aristocracy of the country, or contained the greatest proportion of the individuals who actually swayed the opinions of the people, by means of their birth, wealth, talents, or popular qualities. In this way, it was attempted to be shown, that the nation was ultimately governed by the same individuals who, in their separate capacities, could have directed the sentiments of a very large majority; and that this was the only way in which the opinions and wishes of the people could be practically represented. Now, upon this footing alone, as it is evident that rank, fortune, and official situation, are among the most powerful of the means by which men are enabled individually to influence the opinions and conduct of those around them, so it follows that those qualifications should have their due share in returning members of the Legislature; and that the government could not otherwise be either stable or respectable. The real power of every country is vested in what we have called its effective aristocracy; and that country is the happiest, in which the aristocracy is most numerous and most diversified as to the sources of its influence; that government the most suitable, secure and beneficial, which is exercised most directly by the mediation of this aristocracy. In a country where rank, wealth and office, constitute the chief sources of influence over individuals, it is proper that rank, wealth and office, should make the greatest number of its legislators.

There is another elementary view of this subject, which may serve still further to clear our notions with regard to it. The great use of a parliament, in a consitutional point of view, is to preserve the freedom of the people; and it does appear to us that it performs this function chiefly by the frequency, freedom, and publicity of its debates and discussions; by means of which, the attention of the people is called perpetually to their public rights and interests; their intelligence is sharpened, and their spirit exercised and excited. It is on the spirit and the intelligence of the people themselves, that their liberties must always ultimately depend. The only substantial and operative check to the usurpations of rulers, is in their apprehension of the resistance of the people, and their conviction that they will detect the first movements towards oppression, and combine to repel and resent them. Now, if there be a parliament, however chosen, and however constituted, which contains a *sufficient number*, and a *sufficient variety* of persons, to make it certain that every class, and every part in the country, will there have an advocate and expounder of its views and sentiments; and if that parliament meet often, and have practically full *freedom of speech*, and *make*

its discussions public, it does not appear to us that freedom can ever be extinguished, or the rights of the people very materially invaded. The arguments used by the Legislature will be canvassed and agitated in every corner of the country;—*their* freedom of speech will secure freedom of speech and of thinking throughout the whole community;—the understandings of the people will be habitually directed towards their political rights and interests; and a vigilant and jealous observation will be practised by a thousand eyes, and inculcated by ten thousand tongues, whenever the proceedings of government give alarm to their patrons and watchmen in the Legislature. Other checks and devices may be of advantage, indeed, to render the control and pressure of this great principle of popular resistance on the machine of government more equable and manageable, and to make it operate earlier and smoother in regulating and repressing those movements by which liberty might be endangered;—but the essence of the problem, is to secure to this regulator sufficient power and efficacy,—to keep alive that spirit and that intelligence in the people on which their resistance must be founded;—and a parliament, possessing the qualifications which we have just specified, seems, of itself, quite adequate to this effect.

Now, without pretending to justify the irregularities which certainly subsist in our system of representation, and without *arguing* on the probable effects of these irregularities, we would merely ask, whether it can be denied, in point of *fact*, that our parliament, as it is now constituted, does actually possess the requisites which we have just specified, and does actually perform the functions on which its substantial value depends? In spite of placemen and pensioners, and purchasers of boroughs, and nominees of Lords, the House of Commons unquestionably contains a sufficient number and variety of persons to represent all the different opinions, and maintain all the different views of policy, which exist in the country at large. There is no sentiment so democratical—no accusation so uncourtly—no interest so local, but it finds there a voice to support and assist it. Their discussions are sufficiently free and frequent; they are made sufficiently public; and excite a sufficient share of general attention and interest. While this is the case, we are in no danger of losing our liberties. We should be sorry to think that they depended on the good behaviour of that House, or of any other assembly. They depend on the spirit and intelligence of the body of the people; and Parliament discharges its main function, when it contributes, by the freedom and authority, and publicity of its discussions, to excite this spirit, and to exercise that intelligence.

So far, therefore, from thinking with Mr Cobbett, that any alteration would be salutary, which would have the effect of making the House of Commons as dull as a Quaker's meeting, and of putting an end to long speeches and angry debates, we are of opinion that the chief benefit of the institution would be lost, if such a reformation could be effected. Alterations might no doubt be made, which would make the system of election more consistent and theoretically perfect; and we are far from insinuating that more substantial advantages might not accrue from such a reformation. But these advantages, we are perfectly convinced, would be extremely inconsiderable, compared with those which we at present enjoy; and certainly would not be worth purchasing at the price of any great discontent, or hazard to the general system. The truth is, that by the means which are actually employed, an assembly is obtained which performs all the great constitutional functions which can be performed by a parliament; —which has in it as much respectability and influence as to ensure its authority—as much variety, talent and ambition, as to secure a full discussion upon every point of popular interest—and as much freedom and publicity in its debates as to afford materials and example to free discussion throughout the nation. It may admit of question, whether an assembly, much better qualified to perform this important function, could be obtained by a different form of election. To give every man a vote, probably would make but little difference. The multitude would still follow their natural leaders; and would act under the influence of those who, for the most part, now act for them. The system of universal suffrage has not ennobled the legislatures of America; though there is among them infinitely less of an effective aristocracy to bias their votes, than there must always be in such a country as England; nor do we think that it would materially alter or improve the composition of our Parliament, if it were adopted among us. There are some subordinate advantages derived to the people, by making them the electors of their lawgivers; and we should be well pleased therefore to see that privilege extended; but it goes so little to the essence of our constitutional freedom, that we cannot help thinking that our parliaments would be as useful and valuable as they ever were, although they were mostly composed of persons chosen by lot, or by rotation, from the individuals of a certain fortune and education in each of the counties.

With these general impressions, it will easily be understood, that we cannot consistently assent, either to Mr Cobbett's representations of the vast advantages to be derived from parliamentary reform, or to his conclusions as to the worthlessness of our constitution under its actual administration. On a subject of such

importance, however, we do not wish to rest on such general impressions; and as we are of opinion that a good deal of misconception exists as to the true nature and operation of this famous constitution, we shall avail ourselves of this opportunity to make a few observations with regard to it.

Every community may be considered, with relation to its political rights and interests, as divided into three great natural classes or orders;—*first*, those who are actually in possession or administration of the government, including the Sovereign, and all subordinate functionaries or office-bearers;—*secondly*, those who, without office or exertion of their own, are born to the inheritance of a certain property, and accompanying rank and influence;—and, *lastly*, the great body of the people, and especially those among them who, by talent, industry, or popular qualities, are aiming at the acquisition of office or influence. These are the three natural partitions of all societies which have existed in a separate form for any considerable length of time. They are naturally in a state of political rivalry; and the character of the government will depend upon the preponderance which is assumed by any of them.

In almost all the modern European governments, this rivalry terminated in a sort of compromise; and a constitution was adopted, which allotted to each of these three orders a certain fixed share of political power and authority. In England, it is well known, it led to the balanced government of King, Lords, and Commons;—a balance which has changed its original mode of operation, but which still subsists in effect, and maintains the freedom and permanence of our constitution by its subsistence. It is to the nature of the change which has taken place in its mode of operation, that our attention should now be particularly directed.

At first, these three orders had *separate* functions and privileges, which they exercised separately and successively,—frequently with very little concert,—and sometimes with considerable hostility. While the royal establishment was supported by the royal demesnes, and the exercise of the prerogative; while war was carried on by the military service of the King's tenants *in capite*, and the business of legislation for the whole kingdom did not occupy three or four weeks in the year, this absolute partition of the business and privileges of the three orders was in some measure practicable; and the constitution was in reality very near what it has ever since been represented in theory. In process of time, however, when the business of government became more complicated and operose, the greatest inconvenience must have been experienced from this entire separation of the

three estates of which it was composed; and some expedients must have been devised for giving them a greater sympathy and mutual contact in their proceedings. It never could have been but most injurious to the state and the country at large, that the House of Lords, for example, should throw out, by a great majority, an important bill which the House of Commons had passed by a great majority,—or that the King should reject, with indignation, a law which had received the decided approbation of both Houses of Parliament. It would appear most desirable, therefore, that these vindictive and curative checks, which could never operate without giving a certain shock to the whole machine, and impairing, for the time, its strength and apparent security, should be converted into preventive checks, that might produce the same effects, without any commotion or disturbance. It would naturally come to pass, therefore, that an attempt would be made to apply the whole of that resistance which any legislative measure was likely to meet with; in the first instance, if possible, to avoid the shock, by anticipating its operation; and to bring all the forces to bear upon every proposition from the beginning, to the operation of which it would otherwise be exposed in succession. Thus, if a measure to which the Lords were adverse was proposed in the Commons, it would be desirable that the reasons and the influence which produced their hostility should be directed against it in that House; and if a measure, from which the Sovereign was resolved to withhold his acquiescence was proposed in either House, it would, in like manner, be desirable that this repugnance should be disclosed in the course of their deliberations, and matters prevented, if possible, from coming to extremities by the interposition of the royal *veto* on a measure zealously patronized by the Parliament.

It must have been felt therefore as infinitely desirable, and necessary indeed for the tranquillity of the country, that some means should be devised for bringing the parties together before things had got this length, and of employing the different tendencies of the royal, aristocratical and popular influences, rather to modify the measures of government in their concoction, than to counteract and oppose each other afterwards, by each successively undoing what had been completed by its associates. But the necessity of such a congress would scarcely be felt, before it would become evident that it must take place in the House of Commons. The popular influence could not possibly obtain a place in either of the other branches of the government; while it must at all times have been difficult to prevent their influence from affecting the elections of the Commons. Whenever an inducement was held out, therefore, for them to extend that influence, and for the country at large to connive at it, there is no doubt that it would

be silently exerted to the effect of placing in that House a multitude of members devoted to the support of the public functionaries for the time, and of the views and interests of most of the great families in the kingdom.

This we conceive to be the present state of the government; and the result is, that the balance of the constitution now exists, in a great degree, *in the House of Commons*; and that that assembly possesses nearly the whole legislative authority.

That such a balance does exist in the House of Commons, seems undeniable, upon the slightest consideration of its composition. It contains, besides the immediate and most essential ministers of the Crown, a considerable number of persons who have notoriously obtained their seats through that influence. It contains, also, a very considerable number of persons who have been elected through the influence of certain Peers or great families; and, finally, it contains a large proportion of members returned without any such influence,—or in opposition to it,—in consequence of their reputation or popularity with the majority of their electors. There are here, then, indisputably, all the elements of that famous constitutional balance, of King, Lords and Commons, by which it is admitted that the freedom and stability of our government are maintained; and there seems to be no reason for supposing, that they should not act at least as beneficially when brought together, and fairly confronted in this manner, as when merely overawing and frowning at each other from their separate orbits. It is impossible to deny, that, according to the present constitution of the House of Commons, the Crown, the Executive government, or the Ministry, has a great influence in its deliberations; and that this influence is secured by some sort of interference, more or less direct, in a variety of elections. It is equally undeniable, that most of the great families in the kingdom have a similar influence, obtained by a similar interference. These things, indeed, are not officially avowed; because they form part of a tacit compact to which none of the parties are formally bound; but they are perfectly notorious notwithstanding: and the actual administration of our government certainly cannot be defended, unless they are both admitted and justified. Even Mr Cobbett would be entitled to laugh at the bullying and cowardly evasion of an angry denial.

The advantages of this arrangement are, as we have already intimated,—that the collision and shock of the three rival principles, is either prevented or prodigiously softened by this early mixture of their elements,—that by converting those sudden and successive checks into one regulating and graduated pressure, their operation becomes infinitely more smooth and manageable,

and no longer proceeds by jerks and bounds that might endanger the safety of the machine,—while its movements, instead of being fractured and impeded by the irregular impulses of opposite forces, slide quietly to the mark, in the diagonal produced by their original combination.

We have stated already, that the prospect of these advantages probably operated, in part, to produce the arrangement which ensured them; but it was dictated, no doubt, by more urgent considerations, and indeed, as we think, by a necessity which could not be resisted. The great object to be accomplished, was not so much to save the House of Commons from the mortification of having their bills stopped by the Lords, or rejected by the Sovereign, as to protect these two estates from the hazard to which they might be exposed from the direct exercise of this privilege. By the vast and rapid increase of wealth and intelligence in the country at large, the consideration and relative authority of that branch of the government which stands most in connexion with it, was suddenly and prodigiously enlarged. The very circumstance of its being open to talent and ambition, ensured a greater proportion of ability and exertion in its members; and their numbers and the popularity of their name and character, all contributed to give their determinations a degree of weight and authority, against which it would no longer have been safe for any other power to have risked an opposition. No ministry, for a hundred years back, has had courage to interpose the royal negative to any measure which has passed through the Houses of Parliament, even by narrow majorities; and there is no thinking man, who can contemplate, without dismay, the probable consequences of such a resistance, where the House of Commons had been zealous and nearly unanimous. It is needless to say, that the House of Lords would oppose a still feebler barrier to such a measure of popular legislation. In order to exercise their constitutional functions with safety, therefore, it became necessary for the King and the great families to exercise them in the Lower House,—not *against* the united Commons of England, but *among* them; and not in their own character, and directly,—but covertly, and mingled with those whom it was substantially their interest and their duty to control.

It is thus, as it appears to us, that the balance which was in danger of being lost through the increasing power and influence of the Lower House, has been saved by being transferred into that assembly; and that all that was essentially valuable in the constitution, has been secured by a silent but very important change in its mode of operation. This change we take to be, that the influence of the Crown, and of the old aristocracy, is

now exerted in that House by means of members sent there to support that influence; and that, in that House, as the great depository of the political power of the nation, and the virtual representative of the whole three estates, the chief virtue and force of the government is now habitually resident.

This last conclusion, we are persuaded, will not appear either rash or hazardous to those who consider the exclusive power which is now almost formally yielded to the House of Commons, with regard to the supplies; and the admitted impossibility of going on in the administration of the government, without the support of a decided and permanent majority of its members.* Nor does it follow, by any means, that the other branches of the Legislature, though precluded, in a great measure, from the direct and avowed exercise of their constitutional privileges, are altogether useless in their separate capacities. By their formal subsistence and cooperation, they serve to remind the Commons of the rights under which they interfere in their deliberations, and give greater weight and authority to that interference. They are there in reserve, too, in case of any sudden or violent attack upon their new mode of operation. This, at least, seems the chief use of the King's negative in the present state of the constitution. The House of Lords has a separate and higher utility as a second and more dignified senate, by whose deliberations, all matters of importance may be expected to be matured and purged still more completely from any dregs of passion and popular prejudice which may have adhered to them after passing through the Lower House. It gives time for enthusiasm to subside, and another chance for argument to be effectual. There are very strong reasons, in short, for preserving the separate and official functions of the King and the House of Lords, as members of the Legislature, independent of the alarm and suspicion which would be reasonably excited by any proposal for suppressing them. We are clearly convinced, that their constitutional functions have long been exercised with benefit and effect in the House of Commons alone; but it would indicate a very dangerous passion for innovation, to propose that they should be restrained from their exercise in any other place.

If there be any truth or soundness in the principles of which we have ventured to delineate this hasty and imperfect sketch, the reader will be at no loss to discover the grounds of our objection

* See Hume's Essay on the Independency of Parliament; the very basis of which is, that the House of Commons absolutely commands all the other parts of the government, and may, when it pleases, swallow up the rest, and engross the whole power of the constitution.

to Mr Cobbett's fundamental measure of reform, and the reasons for which we must resist any attempt to remove all placemen or other dependants of the Executive from Parliament, or to exclude altogether the interference of great families in elections. We think, a certain infusion of these elements in that assembly essential to the existence of our mixed government; and should consider the accomplishment of such a reform as Mr Cobbett contends for, as the signal for its instant destruction.

With regard to the interference of peers in elections, it is evidently impossible to prevent it by any statutory or authoritative regulation: and as, in fact, it is not very different from the interference of wealthy commoners, it is needless to say any thing more on the subject. With regard to placemen, however, we may be indulged with a few words more. Although excluded from Parliament, this suspicious order of persons would still exist; and, as they would still possess the highest rank, dignity and emolument in the nation, their situation would still be the great object both of generous and of sordid ambition. To say that Parliament would have no concern with them, and that the King might change or appoint them, without producing any sensation in the Legislature, is mere raving or drivelling, and is scarcely entitled to an answer. Parliament, from a sense of duty, would be bound to take a concern in all such nominations; and would be still more sure to take such a concern, from motives of interest, party, or attachment. It would be bound upon some occasions, and entitled upon all, to vote thanks to the retiring ministers, and to declare that they were enemies to the country who had advised his Majesty to displace them; nay, they might petition against any one appointment, and might withhold the supplies till their petition was granted. They would have the means of interfering, therefore, in every such appointment, and in every act of the government, just as effectually as at present; and it cannot require many words to show, that they would have exactly the same inducements. Though placemen could not be members of Parliament on this new system, members of parliament, it is presumed, might be still transmuted into placemen; and if Parliament had the same power to embarrass and control the Executive as now, it is easy to see that there would be just the same scramble and competition for such appointments among the members of Parliament, which exists at the present moment. The only difference would be, that the scramble would be conducted in a good degree by underlings and deputies, whom each set of ministers would leave successively to fight their battles, when they themselves took flight to the higher regions of office. Ambitious men would then fight for their places by hirelings of an inferior description; and the ambition which now brings the lof-

tiest talents of the country into open competition in that public assembly, would confine them, in a good degree, to the more dangerous and uncontrollable intrigues of the Cabinet, and leave the Legislature to a secondary and more ignoble breed of combatants, who would struggle for their respective chieftains in that degraded arena. It is needless, after this, to enlarge upon the absurdity of denying a place in the great legislative assembly to the official advisers of the Sovereign,—or upon any of the other inconveniences which would evidently result from such an arrangement. Mr Cobbett and his associates only call for the exclusion of placemen from Parliament, as the means of preventing its members from scrambling for office or emolument; but it is evident, that such an exclusion would have no tendency to produce this effect. It would degrade the Legislature, without purifying it in the smallest degree. It is needless, therefore, to enlarge on the dangers of the remedy; for no one, surely, will insist upon taking it, if it be proved to be quite inefficacious.

But, though we think the actual balance of the constitution requires the exercise of royal and aristocratical influence in the House of Commons, we do by no means intend to assert, that there may not be too much of that influence. Though we wish always to see placemen, and expectant placemen, as well as the members and clients of noble families, in that House, we are perfectly aware, that there may be too many of that description. We wish to see them there, to preserve the balance of the constitution,—but it may be destroyed by their excess, as well as by their exclusion; and we have no objection to concede to Mr Cobbett, or to any one else, that there is at present great reason for apprehension, and for caution, as to this particular.

We are not much afraid of the influence of noble families. It is not, in general, a debasing or ungenerous influence; and, in this country, there is so little of the oppressive, tyrannical spirit of some aristocracies, that we have really no apprehension at all from the prevalence of such a temper in our government. An English peer has scarcely any other influence than an English gentleman of equal fortune; and scarcely any other interest to maintain it. The whole landed interest, including the peerage, is scarcely a match for the monied interest, either in Parliament or in society; and, as it is the basis of a more steady and permament, as well as a more liberal and exalted dependency, we wish rather to see peers concerned in elections, than stockjobbers or nabobs. The evil and the danger is from the multitude of places and of placemen; not so much from their having places in Parliament, as from their actual existence, and the enormous amount of the patronage which is necessarily vested in some of those functionaries, over which Parliament has an unlimited control.

We do not speak of sinecure places or of pensions;—these are mere trifles. The most rigorous and unsparing reformer probably would not state the sum-total at a million annually. It is mere faction to say, that either this, or the sums lost by peculation, can make any sensible addition to the burdens of a nation which raises nearly fifty millions in the year,—or that the *poor* would be at all relieved by a retrenchment to that extent. Even as a source of influence, it is a great deal too inconsiderable, to deserve any distinguished notice in the general estimate of the patronage now vested in administration. We suppose we calculate moderately, when we say, that the King and his ministers have now the disposal of offices to the value of *twelve millions yearly.* The expense of collecting the taxes was calculated, ten years ago, at six millions. We do not know how to estimate the value of all the appointments in the navy, the army, the church, the colonies, and judiciary establishments; but it appears to us, that they must be much underrated, if they are only averaged at an equal sum.

This is enormous; and it is the fruit of our enormous debt,—of our great wealth and ambition,—and, generally speaking, of the spirit or the circumstances which have led us to play so much greater and more important a part in the great drama of Europe, than our population and natural dimensions seemed to entitle us to play. The consequence has been, that all our establishments are upon a scale infinitely more extensive than was ever exemplified before among such a number of people. We have a navy suitable to a population of fifty millions; and a debt, revenue, and colonial establishment, greater than would belong elsewhere to an hundred millions. The result is, that almost every third man is in possession or expectancy of some public office; and that there is scarcely an individual, above the rank of a common labourer, who does not look forward to some such appointment, as a part of his means of subsistence, or of elevation in society.

The constitutional evils, and the dangers to liberty, resulting from this condition of things, we admit to be very formidable; but we do not see how they can be remedied by any statutes or formal regulations. The offices are for the most part necessary; and the salaries annexed to them no greater than is reasonable. The offices, therefore, must exist; and the right of nominating to them must be vested somewhere. It can be vested nowhere, however, where it will not be influenced by Parliament;—and if Parliament, which means the majority of the House of Commons, can influence the nomination, it is evident that the members will often be tempted to influence it in their own favour, or in favour of their immediate connexions. Many will side with the majority,

in order to obtain this influence in their own behalf; and the majority will endeavour to maintain itself in force, by holding out the prospect of this influence to those whom it wishes to bring over, or to retain.

That this influence of the Executive is too strong, both in Parliament and out of it, we most readily and cordially admit. It is the great evil which infects our constitution; and the highest praise and the utmost indulgence is due to every attempt to palliate or remove it. It is evident, however, that to exclude placemen from Parliament would not have this effect. As long as Parliament had any influence in the disposal of places, the evil would remain unabated. The individuals who obtained them would not indeed sit *any longer* in that assembly; but they would sit there *till* they got them; and their room would be filled by others who came to cabal for appointments for themselves, or their friends or employers. On the other hand, it seems evidently impossible to vest this enormous patronage in any hands not under the control of Parliament, without creating an absolute and uncontrolled power in that quarter, before which the antient bulwarks of the constitution would speedily disappear. To us it appears, indeed, that there is no radical remedy for this growing evil, but in a reduction of our debt and our establishments;—a consideration which concurs with so many others to recommend a pacific system as our wisest and most habitual policy, while such a reduction is unattainable; and, until it be obtained, the only palliative for the distemper seems to consist in the improving intelligence, vigilance, and individual independence of the people at large. All government stands mainly on opinion at the last; and a spirited, intelligent, and resolute people can never be enslaved, to whatever temptations of sordid interest a part of their legislators may be exposed, or may yield. We do not think that there has been, as yet, any great encroachment on the rights of the people, or any great decline in the spirit by which they must be guarded. But it is undeniable, that the legislature has recently exhibited some strange and alarming appearances; and given a pang to those who were disposed to venerate and confide in it, not less sensible, than the triumph which it has afforded to those who have been accustomed to treat it with contempt, and to predict and pray for its demolition.

We have but a word or two to say on the subject of venal boroughs; and we shall take our leave of Mr Cobbett, and relieve our readers from this unreasonable demand on their attention. We have already said, that a man who takes a bribe is despicable, and that the man who offers it is in some measure dishonoured. We leave the individuals, therefore, who are concerned in this

traffic, to the indignation of Mr Cobbett, without any qualification. But we are by no means certain that its consequences are so extremely injurious to the constitution as he appears to imagine. A venal borough is a borough which Government has not bought; and which may therefore be bought by Mr Cobbett, or any other independent man. When a seat in Parliament is advertized for sale, a pretty fair competition, we think, is opened to politicians of all descriptions. The independent and well affected part of the nation is far richer than the government, or the peerage; and if all seats in Parliament could be honestly and openly sold for ready money, we have no sort of doubt that a very great majority would be purchased by persons unconnected with the Treasury, or the House of Lords. Wealth is one of the *democratical* elements in this trading and opulent country; and an arrangement which gave it more immediate political efficacy, probably would not be at all unfavourable to that part of our constitution.

The great objection, on the other hand, is, that no honourable man will purchase a seat, and that those who do pay money for one, may be presumed to intend to make money by it, and to sell themselves the first good opportunity. The first observation sounds plausible; and yet every body knows it not to be true. There certainly are many men whose private honour is unimpeachable, who sit for venal boroughs. How this is managed, we do not exactly know. Whether the end is thought to sanctify the means, or whether the frequency of the transaction has legalized it in the ideas of the world, like the orchard thefts of schoolboys, and the plunder of Border chieftains of old;—or whether the seat is bought *for* the young patriot, as the living is bought for the young priest, while they themselves are kept pure from the stain of bribery or simony—we really do not pretend to understand. With regard to the other conclusion, that when the seat is bought, the sitter must mean to be sold,—it is as certainly at variance with fact, and has a smaller share of probability. The most moderate contest will generally cost more than the dearest borough in the market; and as, in trying times, contests will be very frequent, it must be the most economical and prudent way for a patriotic party to provide for as many as they can by purchase, before they try the more costly and honourable road of open competition. On the whole, however, we have no great affection for rotten boroughs; but chiefly, because we think that the practice of purchasing them tends to abate the love of liberty, and the pride of independence among the people; and that it is to their feelings, and not to the composition of the Legislature, that we must always look for the fountain and vital spring of our freedom.

Upon the whole, we hope we have said something to justify our love of our actual constitution—our aversion to Mr Cobbett's schemes of reform—and our indignation at his attempts to weaken the respect and attachment of the people to forms and establishments, without which, we are persuaded, there would be no security for their freedom. To some among the higher classes of our readers, an apology may appear to be requisite for the time and attention we have bestowed on a writer of this description. The higher orders of society, however, we are afraid, are but little aware, either of the great influence which such a writer possesses, or of the extent to which many of his sentiments prevail among the middling classes of the community. In his contempt for the Legislature, and his despair of public virtue or energy, Mr Cobbett, we believe, has rather followed, than fashioned, the impressions of those for whom his publications are intended. *There is* a very general spirit of discontent, distrust, and contempt for public characters, among the more intelligent and resolute portion of the inferior ranks of society. We can see, as well as Mr Cobbett, the seeds of a revolution in the present aspect and temper of the nation; and though we look forward to it, we trust, with other feelings and other dispositions, we are not the less sensible of the hazard in which we are placed. We anticipate little from such an event, but general degradation and misery; we have stepped beyond the limits of our duty, to express our horror at the suggestion; and have contributed our feeble aid to rouze, or to undeceive, those who may have been misled by different anticipations. At the same time, we cannot be blind to the tendency of public opinion; and are afraid that, in the event of any great emergency or disaster, no reasonings, and no motives of prudence, will be sufficient to uphold the established forms of the constitution, unless some effort be made on the part of public men to wipe off the imputations which are now thrown upon their characters;—to show that, in a great crisis, they can forget party, and prejudice, and self-interest;—and that they have either talents to form plans adequate to the emergency, and resolution to carry them into execution,—or magnanimity to retire from a situation, to the duties of which they are unequal,—and to give place to those upon whose firmness and prudence and talents the nation can rely with assurance. We do not think that this would be done, by making Sir Francis Burdett first Lord of the Treasury, and Mr Horne Tooke secretary for the Home Department. But much must be done,—and more desisted from,—before they and their advocates are disarmed of their most effectual means of delusion.

ART. X. *Qüestiones Criticas sobre varios Puntos de Historia Economica, Politica y Militar.* Su autor D. Antonio de Capmany. 8vo. pp. 305. Madrid. 1807.

No opinion has been more universally received by political writers, than that Spain was once a rich, populous, and commercial kingdom; and many ingenious and plausible theories have been proposed to account for its decline. The expulsion of the Jews and Moriscoes;—the discovery and conquest of America;—the foreign and domestic wars, in which for more than two centuries the Spanish monarchy was continually engaged;—the religious bigotry and intolerance of its government;—the excessive number and pernicious influence of its clergy;—the abject and debasing superstition of its subjects;—the oppressive and ruinous system of taxation established in the greater part of its provinces;—the monopolies and other restraints on commerce, which narrow views of interest and mistaken calculations of profit have dictated to its rulers;—its vexatious and intermeddling, though weak and inefficient, police, which harasses and torments, without protecting or defending the people;—and, lastly, the want of security for the liberty and property of the subject, in a country where individuals are liable to exile and imprisonment, without even the form of a trial,—where the course of justice, always slow and uncertain, is sometimes openly infringed by interpositions of royal authority, and still oftener secretly perverted by private intrigues and solicitations,—and where the necessities of a prodigal, unprincipled court, lead to arbitrary exactions and irregular means of supply, which are happily unknown in the rest of Europe, the dominions of Turkey only excepted:—Such are the causes to which the decline of Spain has been attributed: and it must be confessed, that, in a country where grievances like these exist, arts and civilization cannot advance, nor the state keep pace with the progress of other nations which possess a better form of government, or enjoy, at least, a more wise and equitable administration of affairs.

The spectacle of a great, powerful and opulent nation, reduced to weakness, poverty and contempt, by the vices of its government, presents a curious and instructive, though melancholy object of contemplation. But to judge fairly, and without exaggeration, of so lamentable a reverse of fortune, we must not rest satisfied with ascertaining the existence, but must inquire into the extent of the calamity. What was the state of Spain, it may be asked, before the evils of a bad government were felt in the conduct of its affairs? What evidence have we, that there has

been any positive diminution of its antient wealth or resources? What reason have we for believing, that it has actually declined in population, or that its inhabitants were ever more industrious, or more addicted to commerce, than they are at present? Such a previous inquiry seems necessary to appreciate justly the bad effects of its government; and yet, obvious and essential as it appears to a correct judgment of the case, it has been hitherto entirely neglected, or pursued in the most superficial and careless manner, by those who have written and speculated on Spanish affairs.

National vanity and false patriotism have misled all the Spanish authors who have turned their thoughts to this subject. Fully persuaded that their own country was the most fertile, and the most bountifully supplied by nature of any in Europe, but unable to disguise from themselves its real backwardness and inferiority to other states, they sought for consolation in pompous and exaggerated descriptions of its ancient grandeur, and gravely explained, conformably to the prevailing theory of their day, the causes of a decline, which had no existence but in their own imagination. Sometimes it was the neglect of sheep, and sometimes the neglect of agriculture, which had ruined their country. Sometimes they complained of the number of strangers who overspread the land like so many locusts, and devoured the subsistence of its inhabitants; and sometimes they lamented the national prejudices against foreigners, which prevented the arts and manufactures of other countries from being introduced into Spain. Sometimes they complained of the exportation of wool, and the importation of cloth; and sometimes they recommended duties on the exportation of their own manufactures, that foreigners might not have the fruits of their industry for nothing. Sometimes they urged their government to expel its own subjects, with every degree of cruelty and injustice; and sometimes they succeeded in pursuading it to import foreigners, with ostentatious pretences of benevolence and hospitality. At one moment they declaimed against luxury, and obtained the enactment of sumptuary laws; and next moment they recommended bounties to foreign artists, and preached up the advantage of fixing and establishing the arts of luxury in Spain. At one and the same time they built palaces for beggars, and pronounced orations in praise of industry; and, with the same breath that they held up commerce as the chief object of national attention, they accused their merchants of selfishness, and vainly endeavoured to wean them from an undue regard to their private interests. But, whatever might be the diversity of their opinions, with regard to the causes and the cure of the many evils under

which their country suffered, they were unanimous in their accounts of its antient prosperity. Even those who were not the dupes of such ridiculous and extravagant fables, adopted and repeated them, in the hopes of rousing their countrymen to industry and exertion, by flattering pictures of the former opulence and grandeur of their land.

Foreigners, who turned their attention to the affairs of Spain, were deceived by the positive and confident tone with which the native writers described the antient greatness, and deplored the subsequent decline of their prosperity. And, indeed, when they considered that, for a century and a half, the great object of modern politics had been the maintenance and defence of the other states of Europe against the overgrown power of Spain, and contrasted their past fears and apprehensions with the weakness and total insignificance into which that kingdom afterwards sunk, they were easily persuaded to give credit to the Spanish authors, and to believe that the fall of so mighty a power must have been preceded by some great and sensible decline in the heart and centre of the monarchy itself. They forgot, that it is not the absolute, but the relative power of a state, which renders it formidable to its neighbours; and that a nation may decline in its relative strength, without any absolute diminution of its resources, by remaining stationary while other states are advancing. They forgot, that the alarming preponderance of the Spanish monarchy arose from the combination of a variety of causes, some of them accidental, and others temporary;—from the union of so many rich and extensive states under one sovereign;—from the possession of Mexico and Peru, while its rivals were excluded from both the Indies;—from the civil and religious discussions of its neighbours;—from the bigotry and fanaticism of the age, which placed the kings of Spain at the head of the Catholic part of Europe;—and, lastly, from the valour and discipline of the Spanish armies, and from the wisdom and sagacity of the Spanish councils. Yet the slight and hardly perceptible impression of the Spanish arms on the enemies of that monarchy, during the victorious reigns of Charles V. and Philip II., while these advantages were entire, might have tended, in some degree, to correct the traditional accounts of the greatness of its former power. The resistance maintained by Francis I. and Henry II. against the arms of Charles V., and the successes of Elizabeth and of the Dutch commonwealth over Philip II., might have suggested the reflection, that the danger from Spain must have been more apparent than real. While its miserable decline during the 17th century, and the slowness of its recovery during the 18th,

might have suggested doubts as to the solidity of the basis on which its former greatness, such as it was, had been founded.

Countries, where agriculture and manufactures have been once firmly rooted, soon recover from the losses they sustain in war, and even struggle with success against the vices and defects of a bad government. How quickly did France recruit her strength after the long and sanguinary contests of the League; and how speedily have Flanders and Lombardy recovered from the devastations of war, to which they have been so often victims? Nothing short of Eastern despotism or feudal anarchy will utterly extinguish arts and industry in a country where they have been thoroughly established, and long cultivated by the people. But the causes to which the decline of Spain has been attributed, though capable of retarding the advancement, or even of arresting the progress of a nation, are insufficient to communicate to it a retrograde movement, or to eradicate staple and established manufactures, which have formed the occupation of the great body of the people, and served them for ages as a source of wealth and happiness. The system of taxation in Spain is injudicious, oppressive, and full of vexation to the people; but the most exceptionable parts of it have long since been modified and corrected; and the total amount of the taxes is inconsiderable, even when compared with the limited means and faculties of the country. There are many hurtful monopolies in Spain, and many ill advised restraints and impediments to commerce; but they are not more numerous nor prejudicial than they were in Prussia under the great Frederick. The administration of justice is not to be praised in Spain; but it is not a great deal worse than it was in France under the Bourbons. A mistaken charity lavishes vast sums of money in Spain on the idle and the profligate; but the total amount of this misplaced bounty is infinitely less than that of the poor-rates in England. Religious bigotry and intolerance have never been stronger nor more universal in Spain, than they were in this island in the time of Elizabeth, or under the princes of the house of Stuart. The expulsion of the Jews and Moriscoes was no doubt a cruel and inhuman act; but, as both the court and people were obstinately determined to exclude them for ever from the rank and consideration of old Christians, we are by no means convinced, that it was not better policy to banish them at once from the kingdom, than to allow so many secret enemies, in possession of the most vulnerable part of the country, to increase and multiply, till they should become too strong for their oppressors. Had the ministers of Philip III. delayed the expulsion of the Moriscoes; so frugal in their diet, so industrious in their habits, and so simple in

their manners were these descendants of the Saracens, that, excluded as they were from participating in the honours and dangers of war, and exclusively addicted to the laborious but healthful occupations of agriculture, in less than half a century they must have outnumbered the old Christians in all the southern provinces of Spain; and thereby increased at once the danger of slighting or offending them, and added force to the popular and royal prejudices against admitting them to the civil honours of the state. And, with respect to the effects of that expulsion, (the subject of such reproach against the Spanish nation on the part of the French and English, as if the one had not revoked the edict of Nantz, and the other broken the articles of Limerick), it should be recollected, that authors have been far mistaken who have supposed that with the Moriscoes the Spaniards lost their manufacturers and artisans. It is true, that in the south of Spain many of the ordinary and most necessary trades are still reputed infamous, because in very old times they were exercised by Moors and Jews. But, at the period of their expulsion, the greater part of the Moriscoes were small farmers and gardeners, who lived in penury and misery, and contrived, by hard labour and rigid economy, to pay exorbitant rents to their landlords, in return for security and protection against the bigotry of the priests.

Don Antonio Capmany is, we believe, the first Spanish author who has combated the general prejudice of his countrymen in favour of the antient opulence and prosperity of Spain. At the end of the third volume of his valuable work, entituled, *Memorias historicas sobre la Marina, comercio y artes de la antigua ciudad de Barcelona*, he has dedicated an entire chapter to an examination of the question, *Whether the arts and manufactures of Spain were at any time equal to those of other nations?* A republication of that chapter, with several additional facts and observations on the same subject, forms the first essay of the volume which lies before us. As the subject of the inquiry is curious, and the view which Capmany has taken of it will, to most of our readers, have the recommendation of novelty at least, we shall give a short outline of his arguments.

We must, in the first place, remark, that when we cast our eyes over the Spanish economists, from Ward and Campomanes, who wrote under Charles III. and Ferdinand VI., to Alonso de Herrera, who flourished under Ferdinand the Catholic, we are struck with the observation, that none of these authors ever represents his country as flourishing or populous at the period when he is writing; but, on the contrary, every one of them laments the decay of trade and industry in his own times, and

complains of the laziness and profligacy of the present race of his countrymen, while he refers us back to some remote period, when Spain was rich, industrious, and full of inhabitants. This reminds us forcibly of what happens daily to a traveller in Spain. At every town where he stops, he is told of banditti who infest the roads, and warned of the dangers that await him near some distant town, or at some remote pass in the mountains. But, as he advances, the danger continually recedes;—till, at length, he discovers that the stories which had at first alarmed him, have no other foundation than the folly and credulity of his informers.

We shall follow the plan of Capmany's essay, by examining, *first*, what was the state of commerce and manufactures; and, *secondly*, what was the state of agriculture and population in Spain, at those periods when it is supposed to have been most flourishing.

Commerce and Manufactures.

It would be idle to inquire into the state of commerce and manufactures in Spain before the conquest of Seville in 1248. The Catalans and Guipuzcoans had indeed applied to commerce and navigation at an earlier period, and some woollen and cotton manufactures were already established in Catalonia; but these attempts were still in their infancy, and were greatly surpassed by the subsequent exertions of the same provinces. It would be equally unnecessary to extend our inquiry beyond the reign of Philip III., since it is admitted, that, before the death of that Prince, Spain was reduced to the most deplorable poverty and wretchedness. In the intermediate time, a great event, the discovery and conquest of America, had occurred, which is supposed by almost all writers to have had the most fatal influence on the industry and population of Spain. Was it before or after that event, that Spain is supposed to have been eminent as a commercial and manufacturing country? We shall inquire, *first*, what documents remain of the state of commerce and industry in Spain, in the interval between the recovery of Seville from the Moors, and the acquisition of colonies in America; and, *secondly*, we shall trace the effects of those colonies on the commerce and manufactures of the mother country, during the reigns of Charles V. and Philip II.

With regard to the *first* period, we are referred by Capmany to the works of two Florentine merchants, *Balducci* and *Uzano*, who published, the former in 1339, the latter in 1440, 'commercial guides,' for the use of merchants, under the title of *Prattica della Mercatura.** These books give prolix and circum-

* Republished at Lucca, in 2 vol. 4to. 1776.

stantial accounts of the different branches of trade carried on at that time by the cities of Italy; and as they were intended, not for speculative or philosophical inquirers, but for the use of practical merchants, they abound in minute and exact details on every subject of which they treat. They describe the exports and imports of every town or harbour frequented by the merchants of Pisa and Florence, and explain their weights and measures, and customhouse regulations, and contain a variety of other particulars interesting to merchants and navigators. From these books we may form an idea of the state of commerce and manufactures in Spain, during the 14th, and in the early part of the 15th century. But, when we look into these authorities, we find that Spain, instead of being a great manufacturing country, received manufactured goods of every description from Italy and Flanders, and that her own exports consisted chiefly of the rude produce of her soil, or other raw materials used in manufactures. Her chief article of export was wool; the next was iron; the others were honey, wax, hides and tallow, sheep skins and goat skins, gold and silver in bullion, quicksilver, kermes, fruits, sugar, wine, wheat, rice, oil, soap, saffron, raw silk and salt. It appears from this catalogue of exports, that Spain was at that time, not only destitute of manufactures for foreign commerce, but that a great part of the country was then, as it is still, in a state of pasturage. It is worth remarking that, though Spanish wool was sent to Italy in the time of Balducci, it was not yet exported to Flanders; nor does it seem to have been held in estimation for its superior qualities, till the latter part of the 14th century, when it was improved by crossing the breed of native sheep with English sheep from Gloucestershire. These sheep are said to have been sent from England, as part of the marriage portion of the Princess Catherine, daughter of John of Gaunt, who was betrothed to Henry III. of Castille, in 1389, and married to him some years afterwards. This operation of crossing the Spanish with English sheep succeeded so well, that it was repeated during the reign of Edward IV. of England; but it was not for more than a century afterwards, that Spanish wool acquired that decided superiority over the wool of other nations, which it still maintains. In 1440, when Uzano wrote, the exportation of Spanish wool to Flanders had become a considerable branch of commerce; and it probably had been at first introduced by the difficulty which the Flemings found of obtaining wool from England.

But, though we find no mention of manufactures for the supply of foreign commerce in the dominions of Castille, there is no doubt that there existed manufactures of that description in the provinces of Arragon. Woollen manufacturers had been

long established in Roussillon, Catalonia, Valencia, and Majorca; and cloths of various colours and qualities were exported from these countries to Italy and other foreign parts. Paper from Valencia, cordovan and chamois leather from the same city, and earthen ware from Majorca, are also mentioned among the exports from those countries; but, notwithstanding the vulgar opinion, that the Moors were a manufacturing people, red Morocco leather seems to have been the only manufactured article exported from Granada, unless we include raw sugar in that description of goods. There is not the slightest allusion in Balducci and Uzano, to the woollen manufactures of Toledo, Segovia or Burgos, or to the fairs of Medina del Campo, of which such incredible stories are related by subsequent authors; an incontestable proof, in our opinion, that these manufactures, if they existed at all, were confined to the fabrication of coarse cloths for home consumption.

Barcelona is mentioned, by the Florentine merchants, as a commercial city of the first importance; and it seems to have been the great emporium by which the interior of Spain was supplied with merchandize from the Mediterranean. Neither the Moors of Granada, nor the Christians of Andalucia, appear to have been actively engaged in commerce or navigation. The Guipuzcoans and Gallicians, who have been at all times more addicted to a seafaring life than the other inhabitants of Castille, are not mentioned by these authors, though the Guipuzcoans were at that time celebrated for their fisheries, and had commercial factories established in Flanders and at Rochelle. *

A politico-commercial poem, called the *Libell of English Policie*, which is referred to by Mr Macpherson in his Annals of Commerce, † confirms the account of the trade of Spain, which Capmany has collected from the works of the Florentine merchants. According to this book, written about the middle of the 15th century, Spain imported fine cloth and linen from Flanders, and sent in return, figs, raisins, bastard wine, dates, liquorice, seville oil, *grain*, ‡ castille soap, wax, iron, wool, wadmole, skins of goats and kids, saffron, and quicksilver: of these, wool was the chief article.

These conclusions Capmany further confirms by an appeal to the acts and proceedings of the Cortes of Castille, in the 15th, and the beginning of the 16th century, from which it appears, that the woollen manufactures of Castille were at that time of

* Diccionario Hist. Geograf. de Espana, 1802.—art. *Guipuzcoa.*

† Macpherson's Annals of Commerce, vol. I. p. 651.

‡ Can this be *grana?* i. e. kermes.

the coarsest and most ordinary quality, and fit only for inferior uses. The finest cloth of Valladolid and Segovia was sold at 40 maravedis the yard, and that of Palencia, Cuenca, and Cordoba, at only 34; while fine cloth of Florence was sold at 167, and that of Burgos at 140.

In addition to this conclusive and incontestable evidence, Capmany next refers us to the account book of Ferdinand the Catholic, which is still preserved in the archives of Barcelona, and extends from the year 1496, to the death of that prince in 1516. This curious and authentic record is perhaps the surest and most unequivocal evidence of the inferiority of the woollen manufactures of Spain to those of other countries, at the very time when they are supposed by later writers to have been the most flourishing. We find, that, in the court of that severe and parsimonious monarch, none but his domestic servants were clothed in the manufactures of Spain; while Italy, Flanders, and England, furnished cloth for the use of himself and the royal family.

Lastly, It appears from the book of customs belonging to the city of Burgos, as it was settled in 1514, that the chief export from Spain, at that time, was wool, which was sent to Flanders, France and Italy, to be made there into cloth, for the supply of Spain as well as of other countries. The remaining articles of export, as enumerated in the same book, are, iron, oil, figs, and raisins, from Xeres, Valencia, and Malaga; cordovan leather, rabbit skins, saffron, raw silk, wax, kermes, liquorice, cumin-seed, almonds, rice; sugar from Valencia, and wine from Alicant. The same account of the Spanish exports is given in a book of ordonnances passed in 1511, which regulate the trade of the north coast of Spain, from Fuontarabia to Corunna.

With regard to the *second* period of our inquiry, it is true that, for some time after the conquest and settlement of America, the manufactures of the mother country flourished more than they had done at any former period. We have the testimony of Guicciardini, * that in 1560 the export of wool from Spain to Flanders, was reduced from 40,000 to 25,000 packs a year, in consequence of the increase of the woollen manufactures in Spain; and in 1552, we know from the acts of the Cortes, that Spain actually exported cloth to foreign countries, particularly to Italy, where the black and blue cloths of Spain were in high request for the use of ecclesiastics and magistrates, on account of the softness of the texture, and stability of the colours. This was also the period when the silk manufactures of Spain were most flourishing. Naviger, the ambassador of the Venetian re-

* Macpherson's Annals of Commerce, vol. 2. p. 126.

public at the Court of Charles V, mentions the silk manufactures of Granada, and adds, that silk stuffs of that city had great sale in Spain; but, with the exception of velvets, serges and taffeties, he gives a decided preference to those of Italy. He adds, however, that the silk stuffs made at Valencia were better than those of Granada.

But, even at this period, when the manufactures of Spain were in a more flourishing condition than at any former time, that kingdom was supplied by foreign countries with almost all articles of luxury and accommodation, and even with many articles of the first necessity. In 1545, Spain received from Flanders, in return for wool and other raw materials, cloth, linen, cotton goods, silks, and a vast variety of other manufactures. The manufacture of linen was unknown in that kingdom. In 1555, the Cortes complain of the vast quantity of money sent out of the kingdom to purchase linen in France and Flanders; and recommend premiums for the cultivation of flax at home, in order to establish linen manufactures within the kingdom. Hardware and glass were imported from Germany; and even arms and ammunition came from abroad. Milan and Flanders supplied Spain with these articles; and it is an extraordinary fact, that the first cannon foundery in Spain was established at Barcelona in 1719. Lastly, in a solemn petition of the Cortes to Charles V. in 1542, it was stated, though probably with great exaggeration, that the whole commerce of the kingdom was in the hands of strangers; and in 1548 and 1593, the same complaints were repeated by the Cortes with great bitterness.

But the strongest proof that, even at that time, arts and manufactures had made no solid progress in Spain, is afforded by the views of the Spanish character, and the pictures of Spanish manners, left us by contemporary authors; and the force of this evidence is strengthened, by the universal contempt and disrepute in which tradesmen and manufacturers continued to be held in Spain for many ages afterwards. According to Naviger, Venegas, Medina, and a number of other persons who wrote under Charles V. and Philip II., the Spaniards of that age were proud and lazy, prodigal and ostentatious, and willing to derive a precarious and disgraceful subsistence from alms, or to practise the most dishonest arts for a livelihood, rather than follow a mechanical trade, which they thought a degradation to practise. Perez de Herrera, who lived in the latter part of the reign of Philip II, paints in the liveliest colours those features in the character of his countrymen, and describes, at great length, the artifices and impostures of the Spanish beggars. He probably exaggerates their numbers, when he reckons 150,000 beggars and vagabonds in

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Spain, at the accession of Philip III. But, besides the testimony of political writers, the royal proclamation of Charles V. in 1540, and innumerable petitions of the Cortes in his reign, and that of his successor, prove incontestably, that the number of beggars and disorderly persons, who had no settled occupation or place of residence, was on the increase in Spain, during the whole time of its supposed prosperity. The aversion of the Spaniards to mechanical trades was not the effect of laziness alone, but had its origin in ancient prejudices, strengthened and confirmed by the authority of the laws and municipal institutions of the kingdom. *Cleanness* of blood was necessary for admission into corporations; but the lineage of a candidate was tainted by his descent from ancestors who had followed certain trades, as well as by a Jewish or Moorish origin. The trades of tanner, currier, shoemaker, tailor, smith and carpenter, are stigmatized in the laws of Philip II. as *low* and *vile*; and, as late as the year 1783, it was necessary to declare, by a royal cedula, that these and other trades were not to be held disgraceful, and should not disqualify those who followed them, from offices in corporations. But is it conceivable, that such prejudices should have existed in a manufacturing country, or that manufactures could have flourished in a country where such prejudices prevailed? Catalonia has been always the most industrious and manufacturing country in Spain; but in Catalonia tradesmen enjoy a certain rank and consideration, and derive importance from the incorporated trade to which they belong. *Soy menestral honrado* would be the retort of a Catalonian tradesman to a gentleman who insulted or offended him. *Yo qui soy Christiano vicjo* would, in the same circumstances, be the no less indignant exclamation of a Castillian.

Our limits will not permit us to follow Capmany in his examination of the fabulous, or at least highly exaggerated accounts transmitted to us by authors, of the ancient manufactures of Seville, Toledo, Segovia, and other cities of Castille. He shows, to our perfect conviction, that the statements which they have handed down to us, are, in most particulars, extremely improbable, and in many points positively false. These incredible relations, it must be observed, to which such implicit faith has been given by travellers and historians, rest on no contemporary evidence whatever; are confirmed by no public or private documents of any sort; and are grossly and palpably inconsistent with the description of those cities left us by the most respectable authors of that age. Naviger gives a minute description of Seville and Toledo, without even mentioning those wonderful manufactures of silk, which, in Seville alone, are supposed to have given occupation to 130,000 souls, and, in Toledo, to nearly as

many. At the time when the woollen manufactures of Segovia are said to have been most prosperous, Colmenores describes that city as full of beggars and vagabonds.

The result of our inquiry is, that Spain has possessed, at all times, domestic manufactures for common and ordinary uses; but that at no period of its history which we have examined, could it be ranked among the great manufacturing nations; that, on the contrary, its inhabitants have been always supplied with the finer manufactures from abroad, and even with many articles of accommodation, which in other countries are reckoned of indispensable necessity. It has further appeared, that the only interval during which manufacturing industry made any progress in Spain, was for about a century after the discovery of America, when the new demand created by the colonies excited some faint efforts in the mother country to supply their wants. But these efforts were feeble, spiritless, and of short duration. The genius and prejudices of the people were averse to manufacturing industry; and the bad policy and oppression of the government were able, in these circumstances, first, to depress, and, finally, to extinguish their exertions.

Agriculture and Population.

Of the flourishing state of agriculture, and immense population of Spain in ancient times, we have the same vague and exaggerated accounts which have been left us of its commerce and manufactures. Osorio, who wrote in the time of Charles II., discusses, with the utmost gravity, whether the peninsula of Spain contained fifty or seventy-five millions of souls in the time of Julius Cæsar; and the most moderate calculator reckons at least eighteen millions of inhabitants in Spain, exclusive of Portugal, in the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella. But was Spain better adapted for agriculture, in former times, than it is at present? Was it less liable to droughts and consequent famines? Was it better provided with canals for irrigation, or with roads for conveying over its mountains the surplus of one province to feed the starving inhabitants of another? Was its code of rural and municipal laws less pernicious to agriculture, than it became afterwards? Was it less liable to epidemic diseases, which oppose at present such formidable obstacles to the increase of its population? On the contrary, between 1483 and 1506, there were no less than eleven years marked by the prevalence of epidemic maladies, called plagues, in some part or other of Spain; and the number of chapels and processions, founded in those times to St Roque and St Sebastian, show at once how common pestilential

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diseases must have been, and how inadequate were the means taken against them.

The institution of the holy brotherhood, for the security of travellers in desert and uncultivated places, revived by Ferdinand and Isabella, is far from being any proof of a dense and great population in the reign of these princes. The laws and privileges of the Mesta, confirmed and extended by Charles V., show, that a great part of Spain was then, as it is at present, in a state of pasturage. The innumerable laws for securing and regulating property in bees, which are to be found in all the Spanish codes, from the time of the Visigoths to Philip II., afford another proof of the quantity of wild and uncultivated land in Spain. And, while the exports of that kingdom, in the 15th and 16th centuries, show the preference given to pasturage over agriculture by its inhabitants, their exportation of wheat and rice proves, that the quantity of corn which they raised was more than sufficient to supply their wants. If we extend our inquiries to a more remote antiquity, we find that, in the time of Alonzo XI., * all the provinces of Castille were full of wild boars and bears; and the kingdom, as then described to us, resembles more a wild and savage country, than a civilized and cultivated land.

But let us look into the agricultural and economical writers of Spain, in the times of Charles V. and Ferdinand the Catholic. Alonso de Herrera was employed by Cardinal Ximenes to compile a book on husbandry for the use of his countrymen. But, does the curious and useful work which he composed, warrant us in concluding, that the agriculture of Spain was at that time conducted with intelligence, or pursued with industry? On the contrary, he begins his book, by lamenting the frequency of scarcities in Castille, which he imputes to the laziness of the people, and to their total neglect of agriculture. Laguna, physician to Charles V., in a botanical work, entituled, *Dioscorides illustrated*, written about 1555, observes, 'that gooseberries were very common in France, Italy and Flanders, but that he had never seen any in Castille, where indeed the people are very indifferent about gratifications of the palate; or, to say the truth, where they are so much more indolent than in other countries, that they extract nothing from the earth but what it spontaneously affords them, and leave many parts of their country in a state of nature, which, if properly watered and cultivated, would be highly productive.' Arrieta, in his book called the *Despertador*, or *awakener*, published in 1578, boasts, as usual, of the antient riches and fertility, and laments the present poverty and sterility

* He reigned from 1312 to 1350.

of his country. And, lastly, the *pragmatica* of Philip II., issued in 1594, states, in its preamble, that the yeomanry and small farmers of the kingdom were reduced, in general, to beggary and want; and that many even of the large farms had been abandoned by their owners, and left uncultivated. But are these complaints, resounding from so many quarters, compatible with that flourishing state of agriculture which could maintain eighteen millions of souls, in a country where hardly ten millions can find subsistence at present?

But, independent of this presumptive evidence, we have positive proof, that many of the provinces of Spain were less populous in the 16th century, than they are at present. We have three enumerations of the inhabitants of Catalonia and Roussillon, in the 14th, 15th and 16th centuries. In 1368, they amounted to 365,000; in 1495, to 473,000; and in 1553, to 340,000. But, in 1797, the inhabitants of Catalonia alone, amounted to 858,818; while the population of Roussillon is estimated, by the French government, at 106,171 souls, making an increase of population, in the two provinces, of 624,989, since 1553. Valencia, in 1510, contained 54,555 families. In 1797, it contained 165,012 families. Allowing five persons to a family, its population at the former period, was 272,775; at the latter period, 825,059; making a difference, in favour of the second, of 552,284. Arragon, in the time of the Catholic kings, contained only 440,000 inhabitants; it contains 657,376 at present; so that its increase has been 217,376. The whole population, therefore, of the three provinces of the crown of Arragon, in the 16th century, amounted to 1,052,775. The same provinces contain, at present, 2,447,424; and have, consequently, more than doubled their population. It is unfortunate for the argument, which attributes the ruin and supposed depopulation of Spain to the emigration of its inhabitants to America, that the Arragonian provinces have made their most rapid progress in wealth and population since the colonial trade was opened to them. The same is true of Biscay and Gallicia. Ustariz long ago remarked, in opposition to vulgar prejudices that these two provinces, though they sent the greatest number of emigrants to America, were the best peopled provinces of Castille.

With regard to Castille, our accounts of its ancient population are too imperfect to enable us to draw a similar comparison between its present and its former state. The ruinous appearance of many towns in Leon and the two Castilles, is an incontestable proof of their decline; and we are disposed to believe, that, in these provinces, there has been a positive diminution of population, though to a much less extent than is commonly imagined.

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If we were to admit a similar decline in any other part of Spain, it would be in the kingdom of Granada, where, if we compare the present state of the Alpujarras, and the appearance of the valley of Granada, with the descriptions of Naviger and the history of the wars of Granada by Mendoza and others, we cannot but suppose, that, notwithstanding the increase of Malaga and other towns upon the coast, there has been a diminution, on the whole, in the population of the country. As to Estremadura and Andalucia, we know that the same towns exist there at present, which existed in the time of Ferdinand the Catholic; and if in many of them we perceive little appearance of business or activity, as little do we see in them, in general, any marks of decay. Seville has indeed declined in its commercial greatness, and possibly in its population; but Cadiz, Xeres, Isla de Leon, Puerto de Santa Maria and Puerto Real, have risen upon its fall. In the northern provinces, there can be no doubt that there has been a considerable increase of population.

If the statistical returns made to Philip II. in answer to the queries which had been circulated by his order in the provinces of Castille, were carefully examined, a satisfactory account might be extracted from them, of the ancient population of these provinces. But though a copy of these voluminous returns has been made from the original, which is deposited in the Escurial, and has been for more than thirty years in the possession of the Royal Academy of History at Madrid, no extract from it, nor summary of its contents, has yet been published. We observe, however, in Macpherson's Annals of Commerce, * an anonymous English treatise referred to, which was published in 1689, under the title of the 'Happy future State of England.' The anonymous author of this treatise asserts, that Mr Pepys (Secretary of the Admiralty) showed him a paper, stating, that the whole number of men in the realm of Spain, taken by a secret survey, some time, as is supposed, before the year 1588, was but 1,125,390, exclusive of the regular and the secular clergy. But it was in 1575 that Philip II. circulated his *interrogatorio* or queries about the population and state of Castille; and the returns to his queries, some of which we have seen, are dated in 1577 and 1578. If this coincidence of time be considered as any evidence that the numbers in Mr Pepys's paper were taken from a private abstract of these returns, the accuracy of the statement may be relied upon, for the returns were made with the greatest care and diligence. We must, however, on that supposition, substitute, in Mr Pepys's statement, 'provinces of Castille,' instead of 'realm

* Macpherson's Annals of Commerce, vol. 2. p. 187.

of Spain;' for the *interrogatorio* was circulated in Castille only. But if the number of men capable of bearing arms, exclusive of ecclesiastics, amounted to 1,125,390, the whole population of Castille, excluding the same description of persons, may be calculated at 4,501,560 souls. Adding 100,000 for ecclesiastics, * the whole population will have been 4,601,560. But the population of Castille, at present, exclusive of Navarre, Biscay, Arragon, and the Canary Islands, amounts to 7,328,700 souls; and, consequently, there has been an increase of more than one half in the population of the provinces of Castille since the time of Philip II. If we add to this an increase of more than $\frac{1}{10}$ in the three provinces of Arragon, and suppose that in Navarre, Biscay, the Balearic and Canary Islands, the population has only doubled, we shall have, for the total population of Spain, exclusive of America, under Philip II., 6,071,831; under Charles IV., 10,504,985.

England, when threatened with invasion by the Spanish Armada, is supposed to have contained 4,688,000 souls; † and it is remarkable enough, that the proportion of her population to that of Spain at the present day, is not very different from what it was then. ‡ It is true, that the Spanish monarchy comprehended at that time, along with Spain and her colonies, not only her antient possessions in Flanders and Italy, but her recent acquisitions of Portugal, and the Portuguese conquests in Africa and India. It is also true, that England, since the days of Elizabeth, has increased her means of defence by the addition of at least 400,000 men able to bear arms in this part of the kingdom. She has also added about five millions to her population by her union with Ireland; and would to heaven we could say, that she had by that measure added in the same proportion to her strength and security; and that a blind and bigotted attachment to antient prejudices, and a callous and disgusting indifference to the feelings and interests of so large a portion of her subjects, had not converted that which ought to have been her pride and strength, into her chief source of weakness and apprehension.

Our review of the first of these essays has extended to so unusual a length, that we must confine ourselves to a mere list of

* The number of ecclesiastical persons in Spain, according to the returns made to Government in 1768, 1787, and 1797, were 208,899, 191,101, and 182,447.

† Andrews's Continuation of Henry's History of England, vol. 2. p. 154.

‡ The population of England and Wales, according to the Government returns (1801) amounts to 9,343,578.

the names and titles of the others. The subject of the second is the discovery of the mariner's compass, and its earliest use in navigation. The third treats of the origin and antiquity of the venereal disease, and of its first appearance in Europe. The fourth is an inquiry into the earliest use of gunpowder in the art of war, and into the first invention of artillery. The fifth treats of the construction of the vessels used by the antients; and the sixth, of the size and burden of the vessels used in the middle ages.

D. Antonio Capmany, the author of these essays, is a native of Catalonia. His principal work has been already mentioned, under its title of *Memorias historicas sobre la Marina, comercio y artes de la antigua ciudad de Barcelona.* The two first volumes appeared in 1779; the two last in 1792. The 3d and 4th volumes are collections of state papers, and other original and important documents from the archives of Barcelona. This truly excellent work is marked throughout with a spirit of liberality and good sense, and distinguished by an attention to general and philosophical views but seldom displayed by those who ransack archives, and compile papers for the use of future historians. We consider it as a most valuable addition to the history of the commerce and manufactures of the middle ages.

Capmany has also published an edition of the maritime customs of Barcelona; the foundation of the present maritime law of Europe. He has also edited a collection of antient treaties between the kings of Arragon, and the Mahometan princes of Asia and Africa; and published a translation of the antient naval ordonnances of the Crown of Arragon, as they were confirmed in 1354. He is, besides, the author of several works in literature, which are deservedly held in high estimation by his countrymen.

Art. XI. *View of the Present State of Poland.* By George Burnett, late of Baliol College, Oxford. 8vo. pp. 456. London. Longman & Co. 1807.

There is more pretension in this title, than the contents of the volume, or, indeed, the author's own account of it in the preface, will justify. He informs us, with great candour and modesty, that his work has peculiar claims to indulgence. He was only settled in Poland, it seems, about ten months, during which time he lived in a nobleman's family at a great distance from any place of consequence, and made but two visits to towns, Warsaw and Lemberg, for a few days each. Even of these op-

portunities he did not make the most, having scarcely taken any notes while he remained in the country. But about two years after his arrival here, if we rightly understand him, he found that every thing relating to Poland was an object of interest; and he got up this work to suit the public curiosity. He is so candid as to admit fairly, that this temporary interest regulated almost entirely the preparation of the book, and that the manuscript was sent to the press as fast as it was written: so many are the deductions from the claims of the title-page, which we are obliged to make by the acknowledgments in the preface! In fact, the book contains nothing which can be called a view of the state of Poland. Mr Burnett has given us, however, a considerable mass of anecdote and information, from his own recollection of a very limited part of the subject; and in this point of view his work, crude and hasty though it be, possesses some claims to our attention. We shall therefore extract from it the parts most worthy of notice, after premising a few remarks on the exceedingly bad manner in which it is written throughout.

The hurry of composition has by no means prevented Mr Burnett from adopting an inflated and often fantastical style. We have 'pines lifting their lofty heads in the cold clear air, huge and still as giants enchanted into pillars of salt.' (p. 32.) Never having had an opportunity of seeing this kind of giant, we cannot speak positively; but, so far as our fancy can carry us, we confess a pine, with flakes of snow on its branches, does not seem to be the object bearing closest resemblance to such a person. Describing the appearance of the winter, when the 'air is so clear, that one can almost *see* the cold,' our author adds, that 'the sun, the while, pours his glistening glory on the subject snow, impenetrable as a rock to his beams.' (p. 45.) He has also found time to invent a number of clumsy and useless words, which he uses in a very intemperate manner. It is quite painful to look at such terms as *womanised*, *amiability*, *societyship*, *exourse*, *selfishment*, &c. To notice the want of elegance, correctness, and, indeed, grammar, which prevails in this book, would be endless. Such defects are perhaps excused by the rapidity with which it was got up; but such imperfections as we have just exemplified cannot be passed over upon the same ground.

Mr Burnett shows a curious degree of ignorance upon many very commonplace topics; and a great number of his remarks, indeed many of his details, are derived from this source. The long account of the Polish houses, for example, occupying near fifty pages, and the minute description of the manner of living of the Polish nobles, might be reduced to a very narrow compass, if

every thing were omitted which is common, both in all foreign countries, and even in our own. He describes the houses and furniture,—the domestic arrangements of all sorts,—the economy of the table, &c. exactly as if he were making us acquainted with some newly discovered island in the South Seas. Thus, 'if the company be very numerous, there is a table on each side the hall, and one at the upper end, leaving the middle open, the whole forming the two long sides, and one short one of an oblong square.' (p. 205.) 'Every dinner as well as supper begins with soup. While this is taken, the joint which is to succeed (consisting almost uniformly of boiled beef) is removed to the side-table, to be carved by the steward or attendants. The side-table, in these large halls, is situated in a very considerable recess, at the end opposite the door. When the soup-plates are removed, the beef, thus cut into pieces of no very delicate proportions indeed, is handed round. This is dressed to rags, the more savoury parts having been extracted in the soup.' (206.) After dinner the company rise, 'by a sort of tacit consent,' and retire to another room, where 'they are dispersed about in small knots or parties.'—'Thus circumstanced,' he adds, 'each is served with a cup of coffee, which is taken, on this occasion, with sugar only, without either milk or cream.' (225.) 'During summer, the *redingote* is worn by most persons not of the first rank. This word is evidently borrowed from the English *riding coat.*' (243.) Mr Burnett surely cannot mean that *redingote* is a Polish word, though his notions about the word *joli* (p. 332.) half incline us to think that such is his opinion.

Where a family lives in public, as it were, and constantly open to the inspection of a hundred or more dependants and guests, the members of it have, perhaps, little right to complain of seeing themselves in print. Yet we rather think Mr Burnett has transgressed somewhat upon this publicity of his Polish friends. He lived with the Count Zamoyski, we presume in his employment, and seems to have been on familiar and friendly terms with that powerful nobleman and his family. It is therefore a certain violation of propriety, (though, considering the above mentioned circumstance, we admit it is a slight one), to fill part of his book with minute descriptions and characters of the Count and his relatives, female as well as male. Every thing, indeed, is well meant and perfectly laudatory; but were we the Countess Zamoyska, for example, we should not like to be talked of in this manner. 'When her soul is up—when her feelings are awake, and in search of objects to keep them in play, she will often go to her instrument; and the obedient strings, responsive to the electric kiss, will proudly rise in full and warbled harmo-

ny, or gently sink in dying sounds, which melt and pierce the soul.' And this is only a small part of about five pages to the same effect, devoted to the service of that lady. A long discussion of the question, whether Count Zamoyski should or should not build a new house near the village of Zamoyst, is no doubt extremely interesting in that neighbourhood; but does not, in the same degree, touch the rest of Europe. We much fear that the anecdote (p. 258.) must be put down in the list of those not quite favourable to the persons of whom they are related; though it is clear that our author is by no means aware of this himself. Princess Czartoryska, it seems, 'has amassed a considerable collection of curiosities;' and, among these, 'the chair of Shakespere.'—'This relic of our revered bard,' says Mr Burnett, 'she bought in England for three hundred pounds;' and she has likewise the chair of Rousseau.

We confess, we are rather provoked at Mr Burnett for filling so much of his book with the details now shortly alluded to, and excluding a variety of recollections which are of general and permanent interest. His opportunities were, in some respects, much more favourable than he seems to think. Though he saw few towns, he lived on a footing of close intimacy with various natives of the highest rank and greatest accomplishments in the country, and might have obtained from them almost as much information as is to be procured, respecting the present state and the late history of Poland. His own observation, too, might have supplied many important blanks in the knowledge which we possess of the condition of the lower orders in that country. We cannot help complaining a little, that his senses should have been so acute, and his memory so faithful, for all the trifling incidents of halls, and rooms and doors,—and chairs and tables,—and roast meat and boiled meat,—when subjects of real importance might well have been illustrated by him. However, he has contributed some information, and, such as it is, we thank him for it. Without attempting, what would be quite useless where there are so few materials, to digest this into a regular form, we shall notice those elucidations of the state of the country which chiefly struck us. Mr Burnett landed at Dantzic, and proceeded up the country through Warsaw, he does not exactly say whither; but we infer from several circumstances, that he went into the Austrian part of Poland, and that his remarks apply to this and the Prussian part. He never was in the Russian division, and heard scarcely any thing about it. Respecting Dantzic and Lemburg, he communicates little or no information.

The face of the country over which our author passed, is uninteresting, from its flatness and uniformity. The Vistula, though a fine river, runs so much through bogs and heaths, that it sel-

dom affords any fine views. The following description of the country beyond the plain of Dantzic, he says, is nearly applicable to the whole scenery of Poland.

'The traveller sometimes finds himself in an expanse of surface, almost without a house, a tree, or any single object large enough to attract his notice. Soon, however, are descried the skirts of some vast forest fringing the distant horizon; and on entering it we proceed, for eight or ten miles (more or less) winding with the road through lofty pines, &c. &c. precluded from the sight of all objects but trees and shrubs. Sometimes, in the midst of a forest, we meet with a small spot of ground (for example, of ten or twenty acres) cleared and cultivated; its sides prettily fenced by the green surrounding woods. Sometimes a small lake is found thus situated, its borders ornamented in a similar manner: and these, generally speaking, are the prettiest scenes which Poland furnishes. These forests, in some places, are fifteen, and even twenty miles, in all directions; an assertion which will appear the more credible, when I observe, that of an estate belonging to a certain nobleman, nearly one half is computed to be forest. Indeed, if we exclude morasses, and the level pasture lands, I should not scruple to affirm, that not more than one half of the country, speaking generally, is cleared. After passing the Vistula, at the place just mentioned, the surface is considerably open, for a distance at least of thirty or forty miles. But woods no sooner begin to appear, than it is rare the traveller entirely loses sight of them. The view is bounded, in one direction or another, by forest lands. I have proceeded in a south-easterly direction through a distance of four or five hundred miles, and this description, with insignificant variations, appears to me strictly applicable.' p. 29—31.

'There are some lakes far more extensive than those just mentioned. The Vistula itself, from the great increase of its waters in the spring, is expanded, in certain places, into a sort of lake. There are also occasional bogs and impassable morasses. At very distant intervals are found plains of some extent, affording rich pasturage. The richest I have had an opportunity of seeing, are those contiguous to the Vistula, some of which are periodically overflowed by that river. Such are those in the neighbourhood of Warsaw, and which supply that town with good butcher's meat. These pasture-lands, in general so thinly scattered, are said to be more frequent in Lithuania, and particularly in Podolia.' p. 32, 33.

The villages are the most wretched that can be imagined. They are thinly scattered, rather along the skirts than in the midst of the forests, and sometimes in the middle of vast bare heaths, where no other object is to be seen as far as the eye can reach. They consist of from ten to fifty miserable huts, rudely constructed of wood, and covered over with straw and turf; and afford so imperfect a shelter, that the inhabitants are glad to stop up the vents during winter, and to be half smothered with

smoke, rather than die of cold. Bad as these villages are, you may travel ten miles, even in the clear part of the country, without seeing one,—or, indeed, beholding any human habitation. The small towns are considerably more comfortable; they consist almost uniformly of a square, with the town-house in the centre. The houses are built of wood, and seldom have more than one story; there is frequently a sort of *piazza* along the sides of the square, where small wares are exposed to sale. These towns seldom contain 2000 inhabitants; and some of them have only 200 or 300. The larger towns consist of brick houses, for the most part stuccoed or rough-cast, and are generally situated in the neighbourhood of a morass, both for the sake of defence, and the facility of procuring bricks. Nothing, our author says, can be conceived more dismal than the position of such a town, frequently in the midst of an immense plain, without a tree or any other object in sight. Stone quarries are so rare, that it is only in the chief cities we find any houses built of stone. Warsaw is irregularly laid out and constructed; there is no square, no regular street, and scarcely any open spaces. The streets are wretchedly paved; some of the palaces are large and well built, but they are now almost all deserted, and exhibit an half ruinous appearance, with high grass growing in the courts. The nobles have either sold or deserted them, and live entirely on their estates in the country, or resort in the winter season to the capitals of the powers within whose division their properties lye. Since the partition, the population of Warsaw is supposed to have decreased one half; its inhabitants are now reckoned at 50,000. The suburb of Praga consists chiefly of huts like those already described, with a few houses of a better description.

The common inns are still more wretched, in proportion, than the hovels of the natives. They consist, indeed, chiefly of the stable, where, during the summer, the inhabitants and travellers sleep, almost promiscuously with the cattle. The house generally enters from one end of the stable, and is described as more filthy than any thing which an inhabitant of this country can picture to himself. The better sort of inns have one or two rooms, generally without any other furniture than a chair and a table, with a small couch, on which the traveller may spread his bedding. They are almost all kept by Jews; and Mr Burnett complains of their impositions, and of the general expense of travelling,—having paid twenty guineas from Dantzic to Warsaw, about two hundred English miles, for a carriage with three horses, and all other expenses on the road. When the nobles travel, they endeavour to stop at each other's country-houses; and, when obliged to use the inns, they carry almost every accommodation with them.

The provisions most easily to be met with are, poultry, eggs, milk and whisky. Prices are said to have been raised more than double since the partition; and Mr Burnett is certainly right in stating, that the quantity of money in circulation must have greatly augmented during this period. The best butcher's meat costs threepence a pound;—formerly, that is, sixteen years ago, it used to cost only a penny, or, at most, three halfpence. Count Zamoyski having taken over several English mechanics to settle with him, one of these told our author that he found, after six month's trial, he could live for one half the expense which nearly the same style of living cost him in England; and Mr Burnett asserts, that he might have done it for still less. It is obvious, that, in many essential circumstances, Poland resembles the United States of America. They are both great agricultural countries, abounding in cheap and fertile land, with a population but thinly scattered over woods only begun to be cleared. In both countries we may expect to find rude produce, or articles in the first stages of manufacture, sufficiently cheap; but articles of more finished manufacture are only to be procured by importation, and bear a high price accordingly. In both countries, though with very different degrees of rapidity, the population is increasing, the foreign trade augmenting, and the cultivation of the land following the rise of price which all sorts of produce, in consequence of the increased trade and population, undergo, and tending in its turn to check that rise of price. In both countries, the wealthy proprietors residing on, and superintending the management of their estates, and possessing a great superfluity of the necessaries of life, addict themselves to an inelegant and profuse hospitality; with this difference, however, that the very unequal division of property, and the prevalence of political distinctions, fills the palace of the Polish noble with a great crowd of dependants; while the same kind of hospitality is more generally diffused, and exchanged on more equal terms, among the American landholders. The most interesting part of the notices contained in Mr Burnett's work, refer to the general topics which we have just now run over.

Almost every article of manufacture is imported, and the greater part are either really, or nominally, English. Our author having occasion to buy a hat at Lemburg, found the name and ticket of a well known London hatter on it, though he perceived plainly that it was of foreign manufacture. The prices of all such articles are, of course, exceedingly high, about one half higher than in London. The names of many even of the most ordinary articles, are evidently foreign; a hat is *kapelusz*, (pronounced *capelloosh*), ink *atrounent*, an ink-stand *kalamarz*, a can-

dlestick *lichtarz*, a plate *talerz*. And when Poles, above the lower orders, are conversing in their own language upon such topics as fashions, the fine arts, &c. they naturally and insensibly change from Polish to French, without interrupting the course of a single sentence. * Almost the whole retail trade of the interior is in the hands of Jews, who are estimated, Mr Burnett says, at two millions. They carry on the traffic with the indefatigable activity peculiar to their race. A stranger, says our author, no sooner arrives at his inn, than he is beset by the inferior Jews, who act as emissaries to the shopkeepers. They enter his room without ceremony, and watch every motion and look, until they have caught him, and led him away to the shop of their employers.

The rent and price of land is extremely low. A farm of several thousand acres will let for 200*l.* or 250*l.* Sterling;—but more depends, of course, on the number of the peasants than the extent. The estate of one nobleman, consisting of 5000 square miles, is worth about 50,000*l.* Sterling a year. A rich manufacturer of earthen ware, paid 2000*l.* for an estate of about 2000 acres, half of which is in wood; it had a good house of several rooms, with a large garden, and pleasure grounds well enclosed.

The wealth of the powerful nobles is enormous;—Prince Czartoryski, and his son-in-law Count Zamoyski, possess together domains equal to half of England in extent. The quota of the former used to be 20,000, that of the latter 10,000 men, in the times of the republic. The great nobles live surrounded by others of the same class, but possessed of no fortune, and dependent upon their wealthy brethren for subsistence. Their houses are likewise filled with persons, chiefly foreigners, in their employment, as artists, with secretaries and other agents above the rank of servants, with farmers of the better order, and a constant assemblage of visitors. The house of a nobleman is likewise full of servants, of whose characters our author gives us an unfavourable opinion. The following extracts will show a little more nearly the features of that rude hospitality which distinguishes the style of living in this country, arising clearly from its feudal manners and abundance of ordinary articles of consumption.

'It is rare in a large house, that one sits down to dinner and supper with a less company than thirty or forty persons. At the palace of the Prince Czartoryski, I apprehend that scarcely ever less than fifty persons dine in the hall—a number which is very frequently augmented

* See p. 135, 136—272—274, and 279.

to a hundred, a hundred and fifty, and even three hundred. To sit down alone, with his wife and a friend, perhaps, would be intolerable to a Pole. And when an Englishman, or other persons who might have been in this country, have mentioned to a listening company the custom of England in this particular—and that even persons of the first consequence both for rank and wealth, would often sit down to dinner, simply a man and wife, or accompanied by a single friend—they have all exclaimed, with the utmost astonishment, *Ah! comme il est triste*—how melancholy!' p. 308, 309.

'These (ordinary wines) are the only drinks in ordinary use, even by the nobles themselves. When they wish for a different sort of wine, claret is the most usual, a bottle of which is placed near them, and of which they commonly invite some one or more to take part; it cannot be all. This is rather a ticklish time for the subalterns, in whose countenances may be commonly observed no very sublime conflict of feelings, between their wish to applaud every act of their superior, and their obvious jealousy and envy of the favoured individual. The nobles, I have not the slightest doubt, not unfrequently debar themselves from such luxuries in public, that they may avoid exciting a mutual jealousy among those in their service.

'On *gala* days, a few glasses of champagne are drunk, at the close of dinner. Other French wines are occasionally produced, and are in the cellars of most of the nobility; but, on account of the number there would be to partake, they very rarely appear. They are met with only in small and private parties. English bottle-porter is also a *rarity*, as it stands in Poland at the high price of a guinea per dozen.

'In these large establishments and parties it would be unreasonable and even absurd to expect the utmost elegance or comfort, and for very obvious reasons. In smaller families and parties, there is no want either of one or the other. Things are always better cooked, and nicer in all respects.' p. 209—211.

'The children of the nobles are educated, for the most part, in their families, where they are provided with the requisite masters. In the times of the republic, the princes and nobles of large fortune educated also in their houses a great number of the children of their needy brethren; and their palaces usually contained schools, like those of our English bishops in times past. The Prince Czartoryski had formerly, at all times, a considerable number of boys and young men at his court, all of whom he provided with board, clothing, and education, and afterwards situations in life. One day in the week was called the flogging day, on which each offender received the chastisement for misdemeanours committed during the preceding six. In Warsaw, such was the pomp of former Polish manners, that the princess, when she went abroad, was attended by twenty of these young men at once, all on horseback, and who strove to outvie each other in vigilant attention and chivalrous gallantry. It was a point of politeness always contested with peculiar zeal, who should be foremost in handing her highness out of her carriage, and in helping her to ascend.' p. 301, 302.

'During the time of dinner, the lofty and magnificent hall is absolutely crowded with servants; among whom may be discovered several Cossacks, with their long whiskers, and in their military uniform. Every person of consequence, too, has his own footman behind his chair, in his peculiar livery; the whole forming a spectacle which forcibly carries back the mind to the pompous periods of feudal grandeur. The servants, on all occasions, are very numerous; I once counted twelve waiting at a dinner-table, at which there were only eight persons dining. There might not possibly have been more, had there been triple the number in company.' p. 223–24.

'The accommodations in the wings of the Polish mansions are not perhaps quite correspondent with the elegance of the saloons and best apartments. Each wing may be considered as a very long house, not lofty, though, with the attic, it has occasionally two stories above the ground floor. Through the centre, longitudinally, on each floor, extends a common passage, into which the several doors, on both sides, of the distinct chambers, open. According to the more ancient plan, however, there is a range, in the front of the building, of several common (usually stone) staircases, each of which leads, on each floor, to a room both on the right and left; similarly to what is found in colleges, the inns of court, and the houses of Edinburgh.

'The apartments themselves are remarkable neither for ornament, for furniture, nor comfort. They are adapted, in general, for single persons; more rarely for two. Their common dimensions are those of a pretty good-sized bed room, and may be from 12 to 15 feet by 10 or 12. If designed for two, they may be still larger; or this enlargement may be produced by a considerable recess on one side. The floor of each, though inlaid with inferior workmanship, can scarcely be expected, when the number is so great, to be kept shining and beautiful, as those of the best rooms. It is therefore merely dusted, and occasionally washed; in which state it has no advantage over a common deal floor. The walls, in the oldest houses, are simply whitewashed, without any sort of ornament.' p. 168–69.

The farmers are generally dependants of the proprietor, who, having performed service as secretaries, or lived as companions with him, or married some dependent female of his family, are rewarded with leases of part of the estates not in the immediate occupation of the noble. Their mode of living is thus described by Mr Burnett.

'The houses of the farmers are commonly built of wood, and have merely the ground floor. On the exterior, they are, in every point of view, humble, very often mean in appearance: the interior is occasionally somewhat better,—though an Englishman looks in vain for any thing like comfort. There are usually two or three ordinary rooms, whitewashed, though one only serves, for the most part, as a sitting-room. The floors are sometimes of earth only, but more frequently planched. A bed almost always stands in every room,

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sometimes, though rarely, with curtains. The only *double* bed, however, is that for the master and mistress of the family; and which is placed in the principal room: the others are mere couches for single persons, occupying the corners. In the midst of all these homely appearances, you are much, though agreeably, surprised at seeing the table set out with considerable neatness, and abundantly supplied with good things; among which chickens are only not universal. Every plate is furnished with a napkin and a silver fork; the courses are almost as numerous, and follow the same order, as in the house of a nobleman, from which the whole is obviously imitated. There is some little incongruity in all this, it must be owned; but incongruities of this description are abundant in Poland.' p. 126, 127.

Our author's account of the peasantry is singularly unsatisfactory. It is well known, that in different parts of Poland their condition is in every respect perfectly different; that in the Austrian division, and in some parts of the Prussian, they are free; while in others, and over the whole of the Russian division, they are boudmen, attached to the soil. But Mr Burnett describes them as all indiscriminately in this condition; although he never was in Russian Poland, and appears to have passed the greater part of his time in the Imperial territory. The following account must therefore be taken, with several material corrections.

'When a young peasant marries, his lord assigns him a certain quantity of land, sufficient for the maintenance of himself and family in the poor manner in which they are accustomed to live. Should the family be numerous, some little addition is made to the grant. At the same time, the young couple obtain also a few cattle, as a cow or two, with steers to plough their land. These are fed in the stubble, or in the open places of the woods, as the season admits. The master also provides them with a cottage,—with implements of husbandry,—in short, with all their little moveable property. In consideration of these grants, the peasant is obliged to make a return to the landholder of one half of his labour; that is, he works three days in the week for his lord, and three for himself. If any of his cattle die, they are replaced by the master; a circumstance which renders him negligent of his little herd, as the death or loss of some of them is a frequent occurrence.

'When a farmer rents a farm, the villages situated on it, with their inhabitants, are considered as included in the contract; and the farmer derives a right to the same proportion of the labour of the peasants for the cultivation of that farm, as by the condition of their tenure they are bound to yield the lord.

'If an estate be sold, the peasants are likewise transferred, of course, with the soil, to a new master, subject to the same conditions as before. The Polish boors, therefore, are still slaves; and, relatively to their political existence, as absolutely subject to the will of their lords, as in all the barbarism of the feudal times. They are not privileged to quit the soil, except in a few instances of complete enfranchisement; and if they

were, the privilege, for the most part, would be merely nominal; for whither should they go? They may retire, indeed, into the recesses of the forests, where it is possible they may not be traced; and it is probable, that, in times past, many resorted to this expedient to escape from the cruelties of a tyrannical master. To fly from a mild master would be obviously against their interest. To quit the territory of one grandee for that of another, must commonly, if not always, have been impracticable: for what landholder would choose to admit a fugitive peasant, and thus encourage a spirit of revolt? Again, it is not in their power, from the circumstances of their condition, to sell their labour indifferently to this or that master; and if such obstacles did not oppose, the very extent of the Polish farms, and the consequent want of a second contiguous employer, would suffice, in most cases, to preclude a change of masters.

'It is said that few of the peasants improve the little stock which is committed to their management, in accumulating some small property: but their conduct is far more frequently marked by carelessness and a want of forecast. Instances, however, of this accumulation, begin to multiply: for one effect of the partition has been, that the peasants are less liable to be plundered. Generally speaking, it does not appear that this allowance of land and cattle either is, or designed to be, more than enough for their scanty maintenance. I was once on a short journey with a nobleman, when we stopped to bait at the farm-house of a village, which I have before mentioned as a common custom in Poland. The peasants got intelligence of the presence of their lord, and assembled in a body of twenty or thirty, to prefer a petition to him. I was never more struck with the appearance of these poor wretches, and the contrast of their condition with that of their master. I stood at a distance, and perceived that he did not yield to their supplication. When he had dismissed them, I had the curiosity to inquire the object of their petition; and he replied, that they had begged for an increased allowance of land, on the plea that what they had was insufficient for their support. He added, "I did not grant it them, because their present allotment is the usual quantity; and as it has sufficed hitherto, so it will for the time to come. Besides (said he), if I give them more, I well know that it will not, in reality, better their circumstances." p. 85—90.

We apprehend that, upon this important point, our author, if, as we presume, he refers to Austrian Poland, has been led into an error, by confounding things extremely different. The peasant, though enfranchised, that is to say, free to leave the land when he chooses, is bound, while he remains, to pay a certain consideration for his cottage and field, which in Poland has not been commuted into money or any other rent, but is a certain proportion of his labour. In the greater part of the Austrian dominions, this commutation has taken place. We conceive, then, that he has confounded the labour given to the lord in the cultiva-

tion of his land, in return for the land allowed to the peasant, with the labour of a serf, who is indeed supported by a grant of land, but has no right to give up his small property, and retire from service. He has probably confounded, also, the state of things, between lord and peasant, in point of practice, with their mutual rights and obligations in point of law. For, as the whole peasantry of Poland were certainly in the state described by Mr Burnett, until the Austrian government placed its acquisitions upon a different footing, it is possible that, in many districts, even of Austrian Poland, the proprietors may continue to have nearly the same authority over the inhabitants on their estates, by customs, which they formerly had by law. This certainly happens in the more remote parts of Hungary, notwithstanding the abolition of villenage by Maria Teresa; and the peasants, there, are subject to very considerable oppressions. But such irregularities, or violations of the law, must speedily be corrected; and their existence, in the mean time, tends rather to the benefit of the community, by converting what in its own nature was a sudden, perhaps a rash measure, into one of a more gradual operation. The effects of vassalage, on the manners of the people, it is scarcely necessary to remark, must long survive any such changes, whether in the legal rights, or in the actual condition of the peasantry. Our author gives us several curious examples of this. The custom of a peasant prostrating himself when he meets his lord, is wearing out; but even when it is disused, its existence may be traced in the practice of touching the lower part of the leg of a superior, upon receiving any trifling present. 'I kiss your feet,' is a common, and even admired expression of politeness. Frequently, in the middle of a large company, the dependants of a nobleman, both men and women, who are admitted to his table, will kiss the skirts or sleeves of his coat, or any part which they can catch as he passes, or stands near them.

The education of the noble Poles is not such as can fit them, either for the more dignified pursuits of the understanding, or for severer virtues. The children are taught at home, chiefly the more frivolous accomplishments of what is universally termed fashionable life. As a Polish nobleman delights in having his table crowded with foreigners, both dependants and guests, he teaches his children, from their earliest years, by an intercourse with those strangers, to prattle all their different languages. This gift of tongues, which, it must be owned, they possess in an unrivalled degree, together with the still more trivial accomplishments which merely tend to the embellishment of the person, are reckoned the best fruits of an exalted education. The children are, moreover, introduced into society at a very early period;

and thus live from their infancy in the idleness and dissipation which, among the nobles of other nations, is reserved for those of riper years. Nothing can be more pernicious both to their moral and intellectual endowments.

The account which our author gives of female manners, is, though somewhat heightened, upon the whole, consistent with other information upon this subject, and presents a picture of great profligacy. The following passage refers, not merely to this species of corruption, but to a still blacker charge against the characters of parents.

'There can be no doubt that this passion for company is a source of great corruption of manners—a corruption, too, which is aided by the prevalent sentiments on the subject. Chastity, even in married women, is considered as ridiculous; and an unlimited latitude is admitted on both sides. Yet in cases where the husband and wife have a real regard for one another, they do not always view with perfect indifference symptoms of an occasional arrangement on either side. There is a sort of selfishment in affection very difficult to be subdued. But again, I have observed in other instances, that couples who have been notoriously and eminently unfaithful, not only retain a mutual affection and esteem, but seem to like each other the better for their respective wanderings; and to observe, with a sort of roguish approbation, any preliminary signs of a foreign negociation.

'There is a natural prejudice of no ordinary force among English husbands, (and which, for the purity of our manners, we will hope is not likely to be eradicated), which makes them curious to know, whether the population of their domestic territories is attributable exclusively to their own exertions, or whether it has been at all promoted by foreign succours. This is a question of less anxious interest in Poland; and a husband, perhaps, acts wisely in treating it with philosophic indifference. It is not uncommon to go entirely through a family, and to remark upon each younger member—*that* was the fruit of such an amour; *that* of such another,—and so on; and in this manner the disconsolate husband is sometimes bereft of every laurel he had ostensibly won in the fields of Hymen. In such a state of things, it may be readily supposed that jealousy, from its obvious inconvenience, is of rare occurrence. Yet human nature is still human nature, under all its various modifications; and that ugly passion will sometimes intrude, though it is commonly obliged to retire abashed.

'A few young women are often educated in large houses, as companions, perhaps, to the daughters of a family. I have been told, that it is no unusual thing for the patron to cull the first fruits, in these instances, and leave the general harvest to another; that is, a girl thus prematurely womanised, will be given in marriage to one of his respectable dependants, whom he will perhaps provide with a farm or other situation; and the happy couple are made for life; being also admitted ever after, on all occasions, to their master's table.' p. 324–326.

The Polish language, our author is disposed to think so much on the decline, that should no political change happen, it is most likely to wear out of use, except among the peasants. All the upper classes, indeed every one above the lower ranks, is master of one or two languages beside his own. The natives, among themselves, as frequently converse in French as in Polish. The nobles have almost always some foreign servants; and even the Polish servants in their houses know something of German. A society, it seems, has been founded at Warsaw, since the partition, for the purpose of preserving the language of the country; but our author assures us little or nothing has been done by this learned body. 'They distinguish themselves' (says he) 'more by showy speeches, and particularly by pompous *eloges* over their deceased members, than by any memoirs valuable either for their scientific or literary excellence.'

A considerable portion of this volume is devoted to the history of ecclesiastical dissensions in Poland, and the different political changes which were effected before the final partition. In this sketch we do not find much to praise. It is by no means full or satisfactory in proportion to its length; and the information from which it is compiled being exceedingly well known to the generality of readers, Mr Burnett should have claimed our attention, by digesting it in a more advantageous manner. He has given no new anecdotes relating to the partition, nor indeed any of the ordinary information, respecting that event, which Poles are most in the habit of communicating. The proofs which his narrative brings, however, imperfect though it be, of the evils of religious dissensions in extinguishing the spirit and energies of a naturally brave and patriotic people, are deserving of attention in the present day; and we cannot too much applaud the manly and decided tone in which he makes his application of this lesson to the actual situation of this country and the sister kingdom. We shall close our extracts with the anecdote relating to the Empress Catharine—because, we believe, it is little known among her admirers,—and places, in a strong light, the base and little qualities which deformed her extraordinary character.

'She (the princess Czartoryska) has rendered herself particularly illustrious by a rivalry with the late Empress of Russia, who, as she was surpassed in beauty (the most loved and coveted source of female power), set no bounds to her spite. It seems that in several instances they interfered in respect of gallants; and one of the instances is said to have been the King of Poland—an offence, which her imperial haughtiness could not brook. On the partition of Poland, the Russian army had express directions not to spare the town and palace of Pulawy; and they were accordingly twice pillaged, and almost destroyed. The best rooms of the palace were perfectly gutted; every article of furniture, pictures and ornaments of every

sort, were all taken out and immerged in the bason of water in the court; and the walls were then besmeared with ordure. The Prince with his family was driven from his home—all his estates confiscated—and, from a condition of splendour, he saw himself reduced in a moment to a state of complete poverty. He was obliged during two years to subsist only on the bounty of his friends. Such were the effects of Imperial jealousy. It was not till the death of the Empress, that he with many others were re-instated in their rightful possessions.' p. 259, 260.

That the Polish nobles, who retain the greatest, and, indeed, the best founded dislike of the partition in a political view, should represent that event as having occasioned a diminution of the national prosperity, and especially as having diminished the population, is extremely natural. No one, however, who reflects a moment on the subject, can doubt about the falsehood of all such theories. The seizure of Dantzic, for several years gave a great shock to its trade; but for the last seven or eight years, it has exceeded the amount before the partition; while the trade of Konigsberg has, during the same period, been rapidly increasing, that of Memel and Elbing almost created, and new channels of communication opened with the south of Europe. But we need not go any further in this argument than merely to ask, whether the police of the Austrian and Prussian districts, for example, and the cessation of those constant scenes of turbulence and civil war which prevailed during the times of the republic, must not have promoted in every direction the efforts of industry, and enabled Poland to supply that increased demand for her produce, which the improvement of other nations, especially of England, her best customer, has, in the mean time, occasioned? The author of the work now before us states exactly what we should have expected on this topic. The nobles, he says, and every one about them, at first and in public, seemed to complain grievously as often as the partition was mentioned; but he soon discovered that such expressions were rather the remains of romantic poetical sentiment, than the feelings of real life. The persons of high rank and great weight in the country must no doubt deeply regret the loss of political power; but the nobles, as a body, and still more the bulk of the people, have well exchanged their nominal independence for greater security and tranquillity.

The question, Whether France will find many supporters, should she press the measure of restoring Poland? naturally attracts our notice in this part of the subject. Without entering at length into a discussion for which Mr Burnett has furnished no materials, we may safely assert, that any change which shall restore the influence of the Polish nobles, and revive, as it were, the name and

separate existence of the country, will be exceedingly acceptable to all ranks of the inhabitants; and that, certainly, no resistance to such a change can be expected in favour of the present rulers of the territory. But we can as little expect to see any vigorous exertion made to promote this revolution, when we recollect how much the influence of the Polish nobles over their vassals has been diminished, at least in the Austrian and Russian divisions; and how greatly the general aversion to the former scenes of confusion, and civil dissensions, must have increased during the more tranquil period which succeeded the final dismemberment. The restoration of the whole, or, what is now more likely, a portion of Poland to its rank as a separate monarchy or principality, would probably be received as a boon by the inhabitants, if attended with no exertion or violence; but it is a boon for which they would scarcely pay that, or any other price. In this state of things, the fortunes of the country will be decided by a battle or a treaty, like those of any other districts on the Continent, where the wishes and the interests of the people go for nothing. France has already failed completely in her attempts to obtain the assistance of the Poles; and, as she has succeeded in her own views without any movement on their part, we may be sure she will only consult their inclinations in the use which she makes of her victory, as far as such a compliance may render the consequences of that victory more beneficial to herself. If we might hazard a speculation respecting this subject, we should conjecture, that France, having completely humbled Prussia, will now endeavour to improve her relations with Russia, a power so far distant from her, and so little liable to be attacked by her, that she cannot be viewed as her natural enemy. In the prosecution of this object, France will probably leave the greater part of the Russian division of Poland in its present state, granting indemnities in the South for whatever she takes of it. By this means, she may expect to prevent the chief danger to which the new Polish principality will in future be exposed, namely, a new league of partition among the neighbouring states; and we can scarcely doubt, that she will still further provide for the stability of this arrangement, by introducing a military organization for which she will find many facilities in that country. So long as the present order of things remains entire in France, nothing can prevent the consolidation of power in this new state; and the parent country will thus possess an advanced post, or rather an important branch of her own force, in the midst of the only enemies whom she can ever expect to resist her. The other powers of Europe, during the life of her present ruler, will have no chance of safety but by yielding, temporizing, doing every thing, to keep peace with him. In the event of his death, they will probably have

some choice; and, if they are wise—if they listen to their own best interests, and are resolved not to raise up another conqueror, they will be satisfied with leaving things as they shall then find them, and allowing each of the new states which may at that time be in existence under the protection of France, to retain its rank and independence, as if it had from the beginning formed part of the European commonwealth,—satisfied with the termination of its dependence upon the parent state. The counsels which England will at that juncture be ready to give, against her own best interests and those of her allies, will be listened to or rejected, in proportion as the results of her past operations shall have failed or succeeded in teaching the Continent wisdom.

ART. XII. *On the Hindoo Systems of Astronomy, and their Connexion with History in Antient and Modern Times.* By J. Bentley, Esq. From the 8th Volume of the Asiatic Researches. Calcutta, 1805.

OF the new objects which India has offered to the curiosity of the Western world, none have appeared more worthy of attention than the remains of astronomical science. These fragments—preserved in a country where the means of acquiring such knowledge is no longer to be found; the peculiarity, and at the same time the accuracy of the methods they employ; the mixture of fable and extravagance introduced even in the rules of trigonometrical calculation, form altogether an enigma which the antiquary and the philosopher must be equally desirous to resolve. The philosopher, indeed, will be much interested in the inquiry, by considering that the darkness which covers the history and the chronology of the East, is likely to be dispelled, at least in some quarters, by the light which may be struck out from the analysis of these extraordinary fragments. Astronomy, more than any other portion of human knowledge, is capable of having its history traced by reasoning from principles, when other documents are wanting. As the object of that science is so far immutable, that it always presents either the same face, or a face that varies according to fixed laws; it is evident, that when we know the astronomical system of any nation, we must be enabled to judge with some accuracy of its state of refinement, and of general information. We are acquainted with the original; and therefore, from knowing the copy, we can guess with tolerable exactness at the skill of the painter. Besides, it often happens, that there is in the picture certain *data* from which its age may be deduced;

the time required to the composition of the work may be ascertained; and even the place on the earth's surface where the observations were made, may be discovered in the system to which they have given rise.

The astronomy of the Orientals, therefore, could not fail to excite the curiosity of men of science in Europe, as soon as it became known to them. The first intelligence of it was received by means of M. La Loubere, the ambassador of Lewis XIV. to the King of Siam, who brought with him from that country a manuscript containing tables and rules for calculating the places of the sun and moon. This fragment, though obscure and imperfect, was explained by the celebrated Dominic Cassini, into whose hands it was put, and who bore testimony both to its accuracy, and to its great dissimilitude to any of the systems of astronomy that had previously been heard of in Europe. After that time, two other sets of astronomical tables were sent to Paris by the French missionaries in Hindostan; but they seem to have lain unnoticed in the royal library till the return of Mr Le Gentil from India, where he had been to observe the transit of Venus in 1769. This astronomer returned possessed of another set of tables, and instructed by a learned Brahman in the Indian methods of calculation. M. Bailly proceeding on these *data*, dedicated an entire volume to the elucidation of the Indian astronomy.

On the institution of the Asiatic Society, the astronomy of the East naturally became an object of attention. Several papers illustrating different parts of the monuments of that science, have appeared in the Asiatic Researches, particularly a paper by Mr Davis, and two others by Mr Bentley, one in the sixth, and another (the particular object of this review) in the 8th volume of the same work.

The notion concerning the antiquity of the Indian astronomy which M. Bailly endeavoured to establish, was, that it reached back to a very remote period, earlier than any other of the records of profane history, and upwards of 3000 years before the Christian era. This opinion was very prevalent among the learned in Europe, when Mr Bentley published the first of the papers above referred to, where he endeavoured to show, that the argument of M. Bailly was ill founded, and proceeded on an entire ignorance of the *principles* of the Indian astronomy. The paper before us is directed to the same object, and contains also some strictures on an article in our Review, where some of the arguments contained in the former paper were shown, as we imagined, to be inconclusive.

Our intention at present, is to consider the antiquity of the Indian tables, purely as an astronomical question, and without

reference to any other matter in the history or mythology of Hindostan. It is the nature of astronomical tables, as has already been remarked, to involve in themselves evidence by which their antiquity may generally be ascertained, at least within certain limits. This sort of internal evidence, is the first thing to be considered, and is evidently a subject which ought to be discussed as much as possible on its own merits, and without the introduction of extraneous circumstances.

With this view, we shall now take the liberty of examining Mr Bentley's papers, on principles purely astronomical. We shall endeavour to point out what we conceive to be the fallacy of the astronomical argument contained in them; to show, that whatever be the age of the books in which the astronomy of India is now contained, the astronomy itself is probably of an antiquity not inferior to what has just been mentioned; but that, nevertheless, we should abstain from any absolute conclusion on either side, till the whole of the evidence is laid before the public.

In the sixth volume of the Asiatic Researches, Mr Bentley treats of the antiquity of the SURYÁ SIDDHÁNTA, a work that professes to have been received by divine revelation about 2,164,899 years ago. The extravagance of this pretension requires no refutation; but Mr Bentley endeavours to show, that the age of it does not exceed a few hundred years. We do not however propose, at this time, to enter into the question of the age of the Suryá Siddhánta, or of any other book, but into that of the astronomy contained in those books; taking our information from the science itself, and confining our attention, as Mr Bentley has also done, to the mean motions of the heavenly bodies as laid down in the Indian tables.

Mr Bentley says, (Asiatic Researches, vol. vi. p. 537.)

'Monsieur Bailly, in the year 1787, published at Paris, a whole quarto volume on the subject of the Indian astronomy; and Mr Playfair, in the year 1789, published a paper on the same subject in the Edinburgh Transactions. The principles, however, of the Hindoo systems of astronomy, being unknown to these gentlemen, and differing widely in many respects from that of the Europeans, the conclusions drawn by them respecting the antiquity of the several astronomical tables mentioned by M. Bailly appear now to be altogether unfounded. Indeed, the materials which M. Bailly had collected, were insufficient to enable him to form a just idea of the principles of the Hindoo systems, which being mostly artificial, his method of investigation (from the *quantity* of the mean annual motions, &c. of the planets, though otherwise perfectly just), became altogether inapplicable; so much so, that the tables of Trivalore, which he had supposed were as old as the commencement of the present Cali yug,

at least, were actually written and dated about the year 4383 of the Cali-yug, or 516 years ago; and the mean annual motions of the planets given in that work, were, *on the principles of the Hindoo astronomy*, calculated to give the positions of the planets in the heavens, at that time, as near, at least, as the author could determine by observation. However, in order to do away these delusions, I shall, before I proceed to the investigation of the antiquity of the Surya Siddhánta, explain, in as simple a manner as possible, the principles upon which the Hindoo systems are founded, and the manner in which they are formed.'

The charge here brought against M. Bailly is, without doubt, a very heavy one, and affects his character deeply as an astronomer and a man of science. To have had a set of Astronomical tables put into his hands, and not to have been able to discover their principles, or the suppositions on which they were calculated, might indeed involve no reproach at all. Their form might be so enigmatical, they might be so imperfect, and of so little extent, as not to afford *data* for the required determination. But if such were the case, the astronomer must at least be sensible of these defects. He must know whether he understood the matter before him or not. This is what a man, not to say of science, but of common sense, could not but perceive; and if M. Bailly has really written a quarto volume on a subject which he did not understand,—if he has treated of it at so much length, and deduced from it so many consequences, it will be very difficult to reconcile his conduct with the ability and modesty by which he is usually thought to have been distinguished. We shall beg leave to consider, therefore, how far this charge is well founded, and whether those results which Mr Bentley intends to *do away*, are really the delusions which he supposes them to be.

The mean motion of any of the planets, or the angle which, at a medium, it describes in a given portion of time, is deduced from two determinations of its place, separated by a considerable interval of time from one another. The more accurate the observations, and the greater the length of time between them, the more exact will be the mean motion derived from this comparison. The length of the interval, even if the observations are not very exact, may so far compensate their inaccuracy, as to give great precision to the result. If, for example, we were to determine the length of the solar year, and if the observations compared were made at the interval of 2000 years, then, though the error in these observations should amount to six hours, or a quarter of a day, the determination of the length of the year would nevertheless be exact to the 2000dth part of six hours, or to ten seconds nearly. It is thus that time adds

to the accuracy of astronomical determinations, and is capable of doing so indefinitely; on which account such determinations might continually approximate to the truth, in as much at least as regards the mean motions, even were no improvement to take place in the instruments or methods of observation. The improvements in these last have no other effect than to render the approximation more rapid.

It is chiefly to this effect of time, in giving a value to observations, that we are to ascribe the progressive accuracy in the tables of the planetary motions. Thus, Ptolemy was enabled to give those motions more accurately than Hipparchus; the Arabs more accurately than Ptolemy; Tycho than the Arabs; and the modern astronomers much more exactly than any of their predecessors. With regard to the latter, it is true that great improvements in astronomical instruments have taken place; but, even independently of the superior accuracy derived from this source, the mere lapse of time would have produced a near approach to the same results.

This is the natural progress of astronomical improvement, and is the inseparable concomitant of the antiquity of science. In the Indian astronomy, there appears to be a contrivance calculated somewhat to retard and derange this natural progress; and it is on this contrivance, and the effect of it, that Mr Bentley lays so much stress, in the account of what he calls the *artificial systems* of the Indian astronomy.

The contrivance referred to is this:—The Indian astronomers, having first determined the mean motion of the sun or any of the planets, from two or more observations made and compared as supposed above, have from thence gone back by calculation to some fictitious epocha connected with their mythological system, which, in all their future calculations, they choose to assume as an observation actually made, and as the standard with which other observations are afterwards to be compared. The effect of this fiction must be, to prevent the knowledge of the mean motions from improving and becoming more perfect in the progress of time, in so considerable a degree as it has done in the astronomy which has descended from the Greeks, through the Arabs, to the nations of modern Europe.

This retardation of improvement, and the continuance of the science nearly in the same state for a succession of ages, are the only possible effects that could result from the practice here referred to. This may be made evident by a very simple instance. Suppose that the motion of the sun were reckoned at 360° in 365 days 6 hours, as in the Julian calendar, and that the instant in a cer-

tain year, when the sun was in the vernal equinox, had also been observed. Suppose, likewise, that at the end of ten times 365 days and six hours, or after 3652 days and a half the sun's place is again observed, and is found to be advanced beyond the vernal equinox by a small arch, such as the sun passes over in $1^h.\ 50^m$, then it is evident that the sun's annual motion has been supposed too slow by the tenth part of the small arch of excess just mentioned, or every year too long by the tenth part of 1h. 50m, that is, by 11 minutes, so that the true length of the year is 365d. 5h. 49m.

But now, let us suppose that, after the first observation was made, the astronomer had counted back ten years or 3652 days and a half, and at the commencement of that period had concluded the sun to be in the vernal equinox; then if he compares his second observation, not with the first, which was only 10 years distant from it, but with the fictitious observation, which is 20 years distant from it, he will conclude that the year has been reckoned too long only by the 20th part of 1h. 50m. instead of the 10th, and therefore the correction which he applies in order to obtain the true length of the year, will be only the half of what he ought to have applied. If, however, preserving the fictitious epocha, other observations at the distance of 30, 40, 50 years, &c. be compared with it, the corrections found will approximate to the true corrections as the fractions $\frac{1}{1}$, $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{9}$, do to $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{3}$, $\frac{1}{4}$; so that the errors will decrease in the proportion of the differences of the above, or as the fractions $\frac{1}{3}$, $\frac{1}{15}$, $\frac{1}{35}$, &c.

The only effect here is to retard the progress of improvement, but by no means to give the system any greater accuracy than its principles naturally involve.

If the fictitious epocha were taken at a very great distance from the date of the real observations, then the progress of the science might be in some measure stopped: the retardation of improvement would become so great, that the science would continue in the same state for a vast number of ages. This is in a great measure the case with the Indian systems, into which, for reasons that we do not know, but probably connected with religion, such fictitious epochas have been introduced. In consequence of this fiction, these systems remain more stationary than they would do otherwise; and it seems as if the astronomers of the East had been led, by a kind of instinct, to a device that was to give the same inactivity and inertness to their science, that pervades among them the whole of the moral and intellectual world.

Now, admitting all this to be just, and to be a true description of the Indian tables of astronomy, let us see how it will

affect the argument concerning their antiquity. It is evident, that this astronomy, in as far as relates to the mean motions, has little susceptibility of improvement, and cannot have acquired, by subsequent observation, much more exactness than at the time when the tables were first constructed, and the artificial system introduced. We must therefore consider whatever exactness we find in such a system, as going back to its commencement, when the mean motions must have been determined by accurate or distant observations. Now this is precisely the ground of M. Bailly's argument; which, therefore, is either not at all affected, or only a little strengthened by the consideration supposed by Mr Bentley to be so entirely subversive of it. Indeed, it is on the accuracy of the mean motions, as they are actually set down, that the proofs of the antiquity of the tables must depend; and every other condition may be safely set aside. The circumstance on which Mr Bentley lays such stress, is really extraneous to the construction of the tables; it amounts to nothing but a security that, in the subsequent editions, they have received but little improvement; and M. Bailly, had he supposed the fact to be as has been stated, could not have drawn any other conclusion than that which he has actually done. It must still have been by the accuracy of the mean motions, as contained in the tables, that their merit, and their claim to antiquity was decided. The mean motions of the heavenly bodies can be discovered in one way only, viz. by the comparison of observations made at a great distance, in time, from one another; and the principles on which this is done must be every where the same. A man cannot set about making a system of astronomy by the mere force of his fancy or his genius, as he may write a romance or an epic poem. It is not by invention, but by observation and discovery, that his task is to be performed. The principles on which he must proceed, if he would attain accuracy, must be every where the same, in whatever age or country he is placed,—whether he has gone to work on the banks of the Ganges or the shores of the Atlantic,—has lived in the antediluvian ages, or in the nineteenth century,—has been instructed by the philosophy of Newton, or amused by the fictions of Varáha.

The author of the paper on the antiquity of the Súrvá Siddhánta should therefore have thought well before he hazarded an assertion that was to charge with ignorance or presumption such men as Cassini and Bailly, who had explained the astronomy of the East: it was not likely that an *amateur*, however distinguished, should convict these astronomers of gross ignorance, or find it so easy to *do away* their opinions, in a matter that concerned their own profession,—a science which, day and night, had been for many years the subject of their studies.

Let us next consider the criterion which Mr Bentley himself proposes for determining the age of a system of astronomical tables, from the consideration of the tables themselves, independently of testimony, tradition, or any external evidence. Such a criterion is precisely the thing wanted on the present occasion, but we can by no means approve of that particular one which he endeavours to establish. It is founded on this maxim, that the time of the construction of any set of tables must be that at which they agree best with the heavens. Hence, when such tables are given, and we wish to determine their antiquity, we have only to compute from them, the places of the sun and moon, &c. for different times considerably distant from one another: to compare these places with those given by the best modern tables; and the time when they approach the nearest to one another, is to be taken for the time when the tables were constructed. As it must be an object, in all astronomical tables, to represent the state of the heavens tolerably near the truth at the time when they are composed, it must be allowed that this rule is not destitute of plausibility. On examination, however, it will be found very fallacious, and such as might lead into great mistakes.

Astronomical tables are liable to errors of two different kinds, that may sometimes be in the same, sometimes in opposite directions. One of them concerns the radical places at the epoch from which the motions are counted; the other concerns the mean motions themselves, that is to say, the mean rate or angular velocity of the planet. Of these the first remains fixed, and its effect at all times is the same; the second again is variable, and its effect increases proportionally to the time. If, therefore, they are opposite, the one in excess, and the other in defect, they must partly destroy one another; and the one increasing continually, will at length become equal to the other, when there will, of consequence, be no error at all; after which the error will fall on the opposite side, and will increase continually. Here, the moment of no error, or that when the tables are perfectly correct, is evidently distant from the time of the construction of the tables, and may be very long, either before, or after that period. Suppose, for example, that, in constructing tables of the sun's motion, we are to set off from the beginning of the present century, and that we make the sun's place for the beginning of the year 1801 more advanced by half a degree than it was in reality. Suppose, also, that the mean motion set down in our tables is erroneous in a way opposite to the former, and is less than the truth by 1″ in a year. The place of the sun then, as assigned from the tables for every year subsequent to 1800, will, from the first of the above

causes, be half a degree too far advanced, and from the second, it will be too little advanced by as many seconds as there are years. When the number of years becomes as great as that of the seconds in 30′, that is, when it is equal to 1800, the two errors will destroy one another, and the tables will give the place of the sun perfectly exact. Were we, therefore, to ascertain the age of the tables by Mr Bentley's rule, we should commit an error of 1800 years; from which we may judge of the credit due to that rule as a guide in chronological researches.

This is the rule, however, by which he judges, as far as his argument is purely astronomical, of the antiquity of the Suryá Siddhánta. We must confess that we are not much disposed to trust to so precarious a guide. With respect to the evidence derived from other sources, from the written or the traditionary history of Hindostan, we abstain from any opinion at present, and leave it as a discussion more properly belonging to the antiquary than the astronomer.

We shall now state, very briefly, our reasons for thinking, whatever may be true of the books of the Indian astronomy, that the astronomy itself is of great antiquity. After what we have said in his vindication, we shall not be afraid to trust ourselves to the guidance of the historian of astronomy, though we admit that the extent to which he has pushed some of his arguments may require a certain deduction to be made.

The precession of the equinoxes is one of the celestial phenomena which has been found of the greatest use in researches like the present. It was by means of it that Sir Isaac Newton determined the date of the expedition of the Argonauts, the great hinge of his chronological system. The very same means of investigation, offers itself in the present question. M. Le Gentil brought with him from India the delineation of a zodiac, on which the constellations and the principal fixed stars are marked with considerable accuracy. The Indian zodiac is moveable; it begins with a certain point in the starry heavens, which is supposed to move forward from the point of the vernal equinox, at the rate of 54″ annually. Now, in the zodiac of Le Gentil, the star Aldebaran has the longitude of 53° 20′ reckoned from the beginning of it. But, according to the Brahmens, at the commencement of the Cali-Yug, or in the year 3102 before the Christian era, the beginning of the zodiac was 54° west of the vernal equinox; and therefore Aldebaran which was 53° 20′ east of the former point, was 40′ to the westward of the latter, or of the vernal equinox. Now, let us see, according to our astronomy, where Aldebaran actually was at the same epo-

cha. The longitude of that star, or its distance eastward from the vernal equinox, in the year 1750, according to the best observations, was 66° 17′ 47″; and therefore, reckoning back, or westward from thence $50\frac{1}{4}''$ annually, (which is the mean rate of the precession of the equinoxes), we shall find that 3102 years before Christ, Aldebaran was 1° 32′ west of the vernal equinox. The Indian computation made the same star 40′ west of the same point: the difference is only 52′, which is very inconsiderable, and answers in time to about 60 years. This coincidence is the more remarkable, that the Brahmens, by their own rule of allowing 54″ for the annual precession, could not have assigned the same place to Aldebaran, by four or five degrees, if they had calculated back from a modern observation. This gives a high probability to the supposition, that the zodiac in question represents the state of the heavens for the beginning of the Cali-Yug; at least, it must be allowed, that we have as good authority for believing so, as for holding the sphere of Chiron and Musæus to have been constructed, and the expedition of the Argonauts to have taken place, 1263 years before the Christian era.

Let us next inquire how the places of the sun and moon, as given by the Tables of Trivalore for the beginning of the Cali-Yug, agree with computations made from the most correct tables of our modern astronomy. If the author of the former tables calculated back to the distance of more than four thousand years from a modern observation, we may be well assured that he has afforded sufficient *data* for detecting the imposition. Nothing but astronomy in its most perfect state, enriched with the conclusions derived from the theory of gravitation, is capable of ascending so far into the ages that are past; and, unless both had copied from nature, there is surely no probability that the simple and imperfect methods of the Brahmen should coincide with the refined calculus of the European astronomer.

M. Bailly calculates from the tables of Trivalore, that at their epoch answering to midnight between the 17th and 18th of February of the year 3102 before our era, the mean place of the sun was 10^s 3° 38′ 13″. The same calculated from La Caille's tables is 10^s 1° 5′ 57″, to which must be added 1° 45′ 22″, on account of an inequality in the precession of the equinoxes discovered by La Grange, (Mem. Acad. Berl. 1782, p. 287.), making altogether 10^s 2° 51′ 19″, not more than 47′ different from the Indian Tables. This second coincidence adds much to the probability that the Indian tables give the places of the heavenly bodies, from observations not much more recent than the ancient epoch to which they profess to be adapted.

The moon's motion affords another remarkable verification of these results. The place of the moon calculated from Mayer's tables for the instant of the beginning of the Cali-Yug, as above defined, to the meridian of Benares, is $10^s\ 0°\ 51'\ 16''$. This is on the supposition, that the moon's mean motion has been always at the same rate as at the beginning of the last century. But it is known that the moon's motion was slower in former ages; and on counting back, is found uniformly retarded, at the rate of $9''$ in a century. This quantity accumulating as the squares of the times, amounts, in 4801 years, to $5°\ 45'\ 44''$, which, added to the mean place already found, gives $10^s\ 6°\ 37'$. But the same, calculated from the Trivalore Tables, is $10^s\ 6°\ 0'$; so that the difference does not amount to two-thirds of a degree. This coincidence, if we consider that the allowance for the retardation of the moon in past ages is an element quite unknown to the Brahmens, can be referred to no source but actual observation.

Let us now make the same experiment with the tables of the Greek and Arabian astronomers, by deducing from them the places of the sun and moon, for the epoch of the Cali-Yug. If we take the tables of Ptolemy, and go back from the era of Nabonassar to that just mentioned, including the difference between the meridians of Alexandria and Trivalore, we shall find the longitude of the sun $10^s\ 13°\ 59'\ 28''$, and that of the moon $10^s\ 17°\ 52'\ 7''$, each differing more than $11°$ from the places that have just been calculated.

If we next appeal to the tables of the Tartar prince Ulugh Beigh, constructed in the year 1437 at Samarcand, not far from India, and deduced from a comparison of the Arabic and the Greek observations, we find that in place of the sun for the beginning of the Cali-Yug, there is an error of $1°\ 30'$, and in that of the moon of no less than $6°$.

On considering all these circumstances, the coincidence on the one hand, and the difference on the other, what is the conclusion that any man of plain sense and tolerable impartiality will be inclined to draw? When he finds the calculus of the Indian Brahmens more accurate than that of the astronomers of Greece and Arabia, and agreeing, in its delineation of the state of the heavens at a remote epocha, with the improved astronomy of modern Europe, can he doubt that it is from having had access to records which went back to that epocha, that this superior accuracy is derived? The astronomers of Greece, and even of Tartary, had every advantage above those of Hindostan, except what might be derived from the antiquity of science; and yet they have fallen into great errors, which the latter have entirely avoided. Is it

not, therefore, to the antiquity of their science alone, that the astronomers of India are indebted for this proud distinction?

The arguments here stated must, we think, be acknowledged to give great probability to the opinion, that the art of astronomical observation is of high antiquity in India, and goes back not less than 3000 years before the Christian era. We must not, however, suppose that this conclusion extends to the books or tables of this astronomy, as they now exist. A science must always be older than the books that treat of it. This is particularly the case with astronomy, which must have been cultivated for many ages before any thing entitled to the name of an astronomical table could possibly exist. Our argument goes no further than to prove, that observations were made and recorded at such a remote date as has just been mentioned; and that those observations were subservient to the construction of the tables now existing in India. It is material to observe, that this is the true state of the question; and that our argument does not immediately concern the date of the present books of astronomy, or the age of the authors by whom they were composed. The tables, many of them, do not profess to be very ancient; those of Kistnabaram are not said to be older than 1491; and the tables of Trivalore, the most accurate of all, as far as we know, may be no older than Mr Bentley supposes. * All this, however, is quite compatible with the greater antiquity of the science. The works that have now been mentioned, and indeed all the astronomical books in India, of which we have any information, are obviously derived from others more perfect and more extensive than themselves, and must be regarded as an abridgment or compendium of a science that has existed in a fuller and more enlarged form. What the revolutions were by which this change has been effected, is not the subject of the present inquiry, and falls not within our province to discuss. But it is proper to observe, that our position may be true; and the assertions of Mr Bentley, concerning the age of the authors of the books we have been treating of, and also of the Suryá Siddhánta, may also be perfectly just. The science and the books must by no means be identified; and it is by doing this improperly that so

* The dates of the actual composition of the tables were fully understood to be modern before Mr Bentley wrote. The tables of Siam were referred by Cassini to the year 638 of our era; those of Kistnabaram by M. Bailly to 1491; and those of Narsapoor to 1569. In those of Trivalore, there is a date, as the same astronomer observes, that comes down to 1282 of our era.

much room has been given for controversy, in a question where, if not the truth, yet surely the probability, is very clearly to be distinguished.

When M. Bailly's account of the Indian astronomy made its appearance, the Súryá Siddhánta was hardly known in Europe. The institution of the Asiatic Society, which has been of such benefit to all that regards the antiquities of India, could not fail to make us speedily acquainted with a work that was held in the highest estimation over all the East. The antiquity of it has been conceived to be very great, as it is reckoned the most antient astronomical treatise of the Hindoos; but, according to Mr Bentley, that antiquity extends to no more remote period than the year 1068 of our era. The main argument on which this determination is founded, seems to us subject to considerable difficulty. (Asiatic Researches, vol. VI. p. 544 and 568, &c.; also vol. VIII. p. 216.) It supposes, what is by no means certain, that the Hindoo astronomers deduced the mean motions of the planets from a comparison of a real observation with one that was purely fictitious. This is nowhere proved by Mr Bentley, though taken as the basis of all his computations. It is more likely that the Brahmens deduced those motions as all other astronomers have done, from a comparison of two or more observations made at a great distance of time. The first mentioned method could not assist them in the outset; and, before they could employ it at all, they must have made use of that which has been last mentioned. For, suppose that the Hindoo astronomer was disposed to proceed in the manner now described, and that, knowing the place of the sun and moon at a particular instant, by his own observation, he assumed, as a fact, that these bodies were in conjunction in a certain point of the heavens* 648000 years ago. In order to deduce any consequence from this supposition, he must know how many days are in 648000 years, and also how many revolutions of the moon are contained in that period. But whence does he derive this information? It is the very thing which he is supposed to be in search of; so that we have here a real begging of the question, a *petitio principii*, such as a theorist, sitting in his cabinet, has often enough been guilty of, but which no practical artist was ever in danger of committing. We have therefore demonstrative evidence, that neither the foundation of the Hindoo, nor of any other system, was laid on the principle which is here referred to. If indeed that principle was ever employed, it must have been in adjusting and altering the results that had been obtained from an actual comparison of observations;

* Asiatic Researches, vol. VI. p. 539.

and would then only have the effect already pointed out, of retarding the progress of astronomical improvement.

In some parts of the argument, we acknowledge, however, that Mr Bentley's reasoning is less exceptionable. The mean motions of the moon, and of the planets that are liable to secular equations of very long periods, and of which the law is known, are very proper for affording the means of judging when the Hindoo determinations of those motions were made. The disquisition, however, to which this leads, is a very delicate one, and appears to us to require the solution of some analytical problems of considerable difficulty. Were we, from the statement which Mr Bentley has given of the moon's mean motion from the Suryá Siddhánta, (where it is considerably slower than in the present age), to form a gross estimate of the age of that book, we should be disposed to refer it to a more remote antiquity than any that has been yet ascribed to the astronomy of India. But on this estimate we can place no reliance, as it is made without the previous investigations which have just been hinted at.

Many collateral arguments might be brought from other quarters to support the antiquity of the Indian astronomy. Beside the mean motions, several other elements in the tables have the appearance of belonging to a very remote period. The obliquity of the ecliptic, the length of the solar year, the aphelion of Jupiter, the equation of Saturn's centre, and the mean motion of both these planets, correspond well with the commencement of the Cali-Yug. Another element, the equation of the sun's centre, to which the Hindoo tables assign a magnitude considerably larger than it has at present (2° 10′ 32″, instead of 1° 55½′) is regarded by M. Bailly as leading to the same conclusion. It is indeed certain, that the irregularity just referred to was greater in former ages than it is in the present; and that the earth's orbit is tending more and more to circularity, when, for a time at least, the equation just mentioned will entirely vanish. La Place, however, has taken notice of a circumstance which escaped the observation of his brother academician, and which tends to invalidate the conclusion which he drew from the above mentioned irregularity. The equation to the sun's centre, as given in the Hindoo tables, includes in it that equation or irregularity of the moon's motion, known by the name of the Annual Equation. This happens, because it is the object of those tables to exhibit the relative motion of the sun and moon, at the time of the eclipses of these luminaries. They, therefore, have very naturally united together the irregularities that belong to each of the bodies, and have considered the amount as belonging only to one of them, by

which their relative motion is equally well represented, and, apparently with more simplicity. The blending together of these two irregularities, has therefore produced a greater equation of the sun's centre than is admitted in our astronomy, where they are separately considered. This observation, therefore, takes away the force of one of M. Bailly's arguments, though we must say that, nevertheless, it does not materially affect his general conclusion. We have stated this the more particularly, both because impartiality required that we should conceal nothing that affected the argument either way, but because we think that, after twenty years, during which the *Astronomie Indienne* has been before the public, this is the only argument contained in it, that, on fair and solid grounds, can be said to have lost any of its force.

Beside the arguments that tend immediately to prove the antiquity of the astronomy of the Hindoos, there are others that do so indirectly, by marking it as a system distinct from those that are known to have existed in Greece and Arabia, the only countries, it would appear, from which India can have borrowed. We had occasion already to remark the great difference between the tables of Trivalore and those of Ptolemy, and of Ulugh-Beigh, when we calculated from them the places of the sun and moon at the beginning of the Cali-Yug. We might remark the same sort of dissimilitude on comparing them either with the Arabic or the Persian tables, so that they seem essentially distinguished from all the systems of ancient astronomy, of which any distinct records have been preserved.

In several of the other astronomical methods, not contained immediately in the tables, the same appearance of originality is discovered. Such is the rule by which the Brahmen of Trivalore, who instructed Le Gentil, computed the length of the day, at the different seasons of the year. That rule consisted in an approximation to a trigonometric result, made by a method quite peculiar, and applicable only to very low latitudes. The trigonometry contained in the Suryá Siddhánta, of which Mr Davis has given so curious an account, is very different from any thing of the same sort that we meet with in other quarters. The theorem from which the investigation of the sines is deduced in that trigonometry, has been pointed out (Edin. Trans. vol. IV.), and is a proposition that was known to the Greek geometers, but not applied by them in a way at all similar to that explained in the Suryá Siddhánta. The remark on which the computation in that work proceeds, that each number in the tables is related in the same way to the two that go before it, is abundantly subtle, and escaped the mathematicians of Europe, till within two centuries of the present time.

XUM

To this we may add the rectification of the circle, or the computation of the length of its circumference made by a rule known in India before it was known in Europe, and remarkable for its accuracy. This we are informed of in the Institutes of Akbar, where the proportion of the circumference to the diameter is said to be stated by the Hindoos, at 3927 to 1250, which is the same with that of 3.1416 to 1; an approximation very near the truth, and the same which we now employ in our computations, though we believe that it was hardly known in Europe at the time when the Emperor Akbar reigned in India. (Ayeen Akbery, Vol. III. p. 32.)

The consideration of these facts, and of many more which it would be easy to produce, ought to keep our curiosity alive to the remains of science in the East. Their extent and accuracy are so considerable,—their origin and genealogy so completely unknown,—they are united with so much extravagance and superstition, and so totally separated from any general stock of knowledge, that we cannot but consider them as forming altogether the most enigmatical monument of antiquity that is to be found on the face of the earth. We wish to consider this subject as still requiring much investigation, and we would wish to prevent opinion from taking, on this head, any fixed and determinate position. The probability seems to us to be much in favour of the great antiquity of these curious remains; and we hope that the preceding statement may do something to keep awake the wonder which their first appearance and the commentaries of M. Bailly had tended to excite. We are the more adverse to Mr Bentley's opinion, that it tends to lessen the interest in this subject,—to remove that admiration which is the most powerful stimulus to inquiry,—and to make us sit down contented with the supposition, that all the remarkable coincidences in the Indian Astronomy are the mere effects of chance or artifice. We have no doubt that the zeal of this learned and ingenious author, to diminish the surprize which the Indian Astronomy has produced, arises from the love of truth, and the natural desire of bringing what seems extraordinary down to a conformity, or a level, with the ordinary course of things. But, in doing this, let him beware of extinguishing curiosity, while any thing of value remains to be known; and let him take care that while he would *do away* the delusions of others, he is not trying to recommend a phantom of his own.

A great degree of scepticism on this subject ought most carefully to be preserved, till the industry and learning of the Asiatic Society, to which we have already so great obligations, shall fur-

nish us with a more complete catalogue and description of the remains of Oriental science. We may then decide, whether the East has only borrowed from the West; or whether it be true, as Lucian says, 'that it was in India that philosophy first alighted on the earth.'

ART. XIII. *Some Account of New Zealand, particularly the Bay of Islands, and surrounding Country, with a Description of the Religion and Government, Language, Arts, Manufactures, Manners and Customs of the Natives, &c. &c.* By John Savage, Esq. Surgeon and Corresponding Member of the Royal Jennerian Society. 8vo. pp. 118. London, Murray. 1807.

THIS is a publication of considerable merit, and of very modest pretensions. The author having had occasion, we presume in the way of his profession, to visit a part of the world very little known to Europeans, noted down such particulars, respecting the country and its inhabitants, as he had an opportunity of observing. The knowledge of these remarks was likely to interest men of speculative habits, and assist succeeding navigators. He therefore has made them public. As his materials, from the nature of the subject, and his short residence, were necessarily scanty, he has given them just as he collected them, without the trick of expanding them into a large and costly volume, by means of excerpts from former works, the introduction of things foreign to the subject, and the various other resources of the book-making art. For setting so good an example, he deserves our thanks. Those who, from accidental circumstances, become possessed of curious information, should, without scruple, give it to the world, although its trifling bulk may subject them to the imputation of publishing a little book, and bar them from the gains of a costly quarto. That we may contribute our share towards the encouragement of so good a practice, we shall endeavour to make our readers acquainted with this small volume.

New Zealand, from its discovery by the celebrated Tasman in 1642, did not attract the particular attention of navigators until 1770, when Captain Cook accurately surveyed a considerable portion of it, and found that it was divided into two large islands by a straight. He collected likewise a number of interesting particulars respecting the country and the natives; but his observations were confined to the southern island. Since the time of Captain Cook, we have no information respecting New Zealand, except

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a few unconnected details given by Mr Collins in his account of New South Wales, upon the authority of two New-Zealanders, who resided for some months in that colony. Mr Savage passed a part of the months of September and October 1805 in the Bay of Islands, a fine bay on the north-east coast of the northern island. During that time, he had constant intercourse with the natives; and he brought one of them away with him, from whom, in the course of the long voyage home, he obtained considerable additions to his information. The Bay of Islands, to the neighbourhood of which his remarks are confined, is not far distant from the most northerly point of New Zealand. The observation of Captain Cook was directed to the opposite quarter. Mr Savage has given his information in a plain and unambitious manner. He begins at once with the subject, and neither ekes out his book by accounts of the outward voyage, nor amuses us with narratives of personal adventures. The voyage home is only alluded to as illustrative of the habits of the native who accompanied him.

The Bay of Islands lies in latitude 35° 6′ south, and longitude 174° 43′ east, between two points, called, in the maps, Cape Brit and Cape Colville. The anchorage is excellent, and of easy approach. The neighbourhood furnishes an abundant supply of the best potatoes. For this reason, it is a point of great importance to navigators to be acquainted with the appearances of the land from the sea, and with such other circumstances as may assist them in reaching the harbour. Our author gives several neat sketches, and a number of directions, which cannot fail to prove highly useful in this respect. We regret that he did not attempt to lay down the Bay, of which we believe no chart whatever exists. A few observations, in addition to those which he or his companions seem to have made, would have enabled him to do so; and at any rate, he should have given us a map of the islands of New Zealand, according to the received notions of their extent and position, although he had merely taken it from the works of former navigators, or the common charts.

The vegetable produce of the spot in question, though limited in point of variety, is apparently very valuable. The flax, notwithstanding every disadvantage of an extremely rude culture, is of excellent quality.—The fibres five or six feet long, and the appearance beautiful and silky. The root of the fern, which grows in abundance wild, furnishes a nourishing juice to the natives, who chiefly live upon it. Potatoes, which they cultivate with considerable skill, and chiefly reserve for traffic with the ships that arrive, are produced in sufficient plenty, and perfect,

both in flavour and for keeping. They are carefully preserved upon platforms, supported by a single post about ten feet from the ground, in order that, on the arrival of a vessel, they may be exchanged for iron, the article most of all wanted by those people, and for which they have only a wretched substitute, in a species of semitransparent green talc, used for making their tools as well as ornaments, before their intercourse with Europeans, but now chiefly confined to the latter employment. Next to the fern root, and as much of the potato as they can afford to consume, their chief resource is in fishing, at which, like all the Southern Islanders, they are extremely skilful. Their hooks are formed of the car-shell, unless when they procure iron ones from Europeans. Their nets and lines are admirably well made of the native flax; so much so, indeed, that our author recommends all ships which touch there to lay in some of their lines for fishing on the voyage. A mode of dressing fish in use among them, is rather curious, as proving their want of one of our simplest operations, and a certain ingenuity in supplying it. When a fish is to be boiled, it is wrapped up in a quantity of cabbage leaves, which are tied about it with tendrils. It is then laid on a heated stone, and turned repeatedly. The steam completely boils it, and the cabbage is eaten along with it. Our author assures us that this dish is excellent. They sometimes dress their potatoes in the same manner. The dog is almost their only animal food. Thus, from the abundance, especially of fish and fern, they are seldom in want of subsistence. Their canoes are well made of the trunk of the fir-tree, which grows to an enormous size. Sometimes they fix two together, when engaged in warlike operations; and the double canoe will contain thirty fighting men. Their huts are wattled, and exceedingly well thatched. They have separate sheds at some distance, for the purposes of cookery. In all these particulars, they are greatly superior, as will easily be perceived, to the natives of New Holland.

The character of the New-Zealanders is much more favourably spoken of by Mr Savage than by any of his predecessors. He admits, that, like all barbarians, they are liable to the sudden impulses of violent passions, over which they can exercise no control. But he asserts, that they are, upon the whole, of a friendly and affectionate disposition, and gives the following anecdote as a proof of it.

'We had constantly a number of natives on board the ship; many remained two or three days without visiting the shore, and others visited it daily. One day, it blowing very strong, a canoe, in which were women and children only, attempting to approach the ship, upset: the lamentations of those on board the ship were expressed in a

most affecting manner; but we were too much engaged in lowering down a boat to save the lives of the poor creatures, to attend to those who were expressing so much apprehension for their safety. Happily the boat saved every life: the women clung to the canoe with one hand, and in almost every instance supported a child with the other, their own safety appearing evidently to be a secondary consideration. Their situation for some time was extremely perilous, and that of the natives on board the ship truly pitiable, till they found that the boat arrived in time to rescue the women and children from a watery grave. Then their distress gave way to the most tumultuous joy: and when the poor half drowned shivering females and their children were brought on board, the congratulations on their escape, and their kind and soothing attentions, were such as would by no means have disgraced the moral character of the most refined European; those who had remained on board immediately stripping themselves of their mats to cover their friends or relatives, who had a much greater occasion for them.

'It was upon this occurrence only, that the natives received any strong liquor; I prevailed upon them to take a little wine, which their confidence in me induced them to receive as a medicine to prevent the effects of cold; showing, however, the greatest solicitude for the health of their children, by helping them before they took any themselves.' p. 37—38.

Their character for cannibalism is well known; but our author here also attempts to vindicate them. They acknowledge, he says, that in times of great scarcity, they have been driven to eat human flesh; but since the introduction of potatoes, the practice has become much less prevalent, 'as they give that root a decided preference.' He states, however, that in war, as a token of victory, and for the gratification of 'revenge,' they devour some of their prisoners;—not the whole, Mr Savage observes, but only the chief, whose body they divide among them, and eat. Of the proneness to suicide mentioned by Mr Collins, nothing whatever is said. It is indeed an exceeding unlikely story; and we believe that respectable author must have been misled by the two natives from whom he received his information. They are exceedingly strong and well made; their expression of countenance good and open; their females far from ugly; the men, without any appearance of brutal ferocity, are full of courage as well as of activity. But the most singular circumstance which our author records of them, is their aversion to spirituous or other strong liquors; nor have they any method of intoxication, or stimulus, among them. They are fond of dancing and music; their instruments do not materially differ from those used in the other South Sea islands; but from Mr Savage's description of their airs, we conceive that they are much liker music. Their gestures in dancing are frequently indelicate, like those of the other islanders; but we believe they

are peculiar in sometimes extending the same quality to the fashion of their instruments.

The country is divided into various principalities; and there are chiefs over considerable districts, having other dependent or delegated chieftains under them. At the Bay of Islands, our author conceives, that only a subordinate chief resides; for the people described their leader as a person of inferior rank and splendour to others who lived in the interior, and 'who, instead of walking on foot, were always carried on the shoulders of men in a sort of hand-barrow.' The elders are consulted by the chief upon all matters of public concern, and have even an authority paramount to his, during the short intervals of peace. But war is the general lot of these tribes. While our author was there, he had no opportunity of seeing any military operations; but this, he thinks, was merely owing to the rival powers having no point where, at that moment, their forces could meet. They had been fighting for years, and had, as it were, nothing now to fight about,—or were perhaps preparing invasions and expeditions against each other; for the tribe with whom he held intercourse, bore a natural enmity (as we term it) towards the tribe of a chief residing on the opposite side of the Bay, about twenty-five miles distant, 'to whom,' says Mr Savage, 'they had vowed eternal enmity.' They take the field, resolved either to conquer or to die: all their honours are reserved for successful warriors. The spirit of inveterate hostility is so unceasing between individuals of these tribes, that on purchasing a bill-hook in the Strand, the native whom our author brought over, brandished it with infinite exultation, swearing, at his return, that '*he would kill Ooroo-tookee with it*,' meaning the chief of the enemy. In short, had these poor people been born on the Seine or the Thames, and had every thing to lose by war, as we have, they could not possibly be more heartily, though they might be more disinterestedly, attached to that generous and useful pursuit.

The religion of the New Zealanders our author could not learn much about; probably because there was but little to learn. They believe that a man came from the moon a long while ago, and went back again, but continues to be anxious for their welfare. To such of our readers as are curious in foreign gods, we recommend the specimen at p. 21, being the figure of this man of the moon, which they fashion of green talc, and wear for a sort of protection in seasons of difficulty. They sing a song of cheerful adoration at sunrise, and a more melancholy strain at sunset; they likewise have a mournful hymn to the moon. They have some strange superstitions; as, not feeding themselves for some days after they have either cut or combed their hair;

and removing their heads with great marks of horror, from below a place where food of any sort is put. They have some idea of future rewards and punishments. We must probably refer to religious rites also, their singular custom of mourning upon the return of absent friends: If the absence has been protracted, the female relations never fail to disfigure themselves by cutting their faces violently with pieces of broken shell. The scene upon parting, is, nevertheless, nearly the same; consisting of tears and lamentations in great abundance.

For further details respecting all these points, we must refer to the work of Mr Savage itself; and likewise for an amusing account of the native whom he brought to England,—his behaviour on the voyage, and after he landed here. We trust, that his example will be followed by other voyagers; and are sure, that, at any rate, he has laid the public under considerable obligations, both by the light which he has thrown on the character and habits of these islanders, and the intelligence which he has communicated respecting them and their coast, to such as may hereafter visit that part of the world.

We know not very well how to apologize for concluding this article by introducing several curious particulars with which we have been favoured, with respect to the progress of civilization among another class of savages to whom we some time ago called the attention of our readers. This information, however, well deserves to be known; and we possess at present no other occasion upon which to communicate it. It is the last intelligence relating to the success of the Quaker experiment for civilizing the North American Indians, which we described at length in our sixteenth Number; and requires no further introduction.

'Agreeably to thy request,' says our informer, 'I shall attempt to furnish some account from my notes, kept on a late visit to the Seneca Indians, residing near the Alleganey and Cattaragues Rivers. In the 7th Month, 1806, three of the Committee having charge of Indian concerns, were appointed to pay the said Indians a visit, in order to see what improvement they had made since our last in 1803, as well as to promote the object of the concern generally, by having friendly conferences with them, and pointing out such things as would conduce to their happiness. We set out the 1st of the 9th Month; arrived about the middle of the same; and found the Indians mostly at home, employed in useful labour. Two of us being known to most of them, our meeting was cause of much gladness. In passing along to the settlement formed by the Committee of Tunessassa, I was astonished at the improvements made by the Indians within the last three years; for, notwithstanding my very sanguine expectations, they had considerably exceeded, in labour and attention, any opinion I had formed. The aspect of things was truly pleasing, indicating increasing industry and economy, and very encouraging to us, as

proofs that our labours have not been in vain. Even the roads opened by them are remarkably well made, being much superior to those we observed among the frontier white inhabitants. They had erected nearly one hundred new houses since my last visit, most of them two stories high, and well put up with hewn logs, very perpendicular at the corner, and nicely fitted together. Some have pannelled doors and stone chimneys; and a great many of them glass windows. Their farms are enclosed under good fences, from seven to ten rails high; and there is a much greater proportion of corn planted this season than has been known before, and it generally looked well. Diverse of them have raised wheat, oats, buckwheat, potatoes, turnips, beans, squashes, pumpkins, cucumbers, and melons of various kinds. They have a number of horses, and a good stock of cattle and hogs. The buildings are, with very little exception, their own work; their ingenuity in some of the mechanic arts being equal to their industry in agricultural pursuits.

'The above statement exhibits the progress making by one tribe of the Senecas towards civilization, and furnishes those interested in their welfare with great encouragement in the prosecution of a work so well calculated to increase the comforts of human life: and it is a peculiar satisfaction to find, that one effect of the Friends' endeavours with these people, is a diminution of labour on the part of the females, in the corn fields, &c.; for, in their former savage state, the women appear to have been consigned to slavery in the field, the procuring of wood, and many other hardships; the men seldom, if ever, assisting them therein. But notwithstanding they labour less in the field, they are not idle. Some of them have been taught the art of making soap, in order to promote cleanliness. Some have also learned to spin and knit; and, in all probability, their habits will, ere long, be as much changed as the men's. Both men and women were much more cleanly in their persons, clothes, and houses, than at the time of our last visit.

'There are a number of other tribes whose advances are very considerable, and quite equal to what might be reasonably expected. We were as much encouraged at Cattaragues as at Alleganey, although the improvements were not so great; they being more remotely situated, and of later date.

'It is very remarkable, that the Indians among whom we have endeavoured to promote the arts of civil life, have very generally abandoned the use of ardent spirits: except two or three of those on or near the Alleganey, the whole tribe has relinquished it for about seven years. We are told that the Cattarague Senecas had all quitted it (except one) for about four years; and many others. Our grist and saw mills at Alleganey are very useful. Population is evidently increasing with them, from this change in their way of life; and they appeared to enjoy good health.

'The Committee, which for several years has devoted much attention to the important subject, in a written report to the Yearly Meeting, dated the 17th of the 4th Month, 1807, mentions the receipt of infor-

mation from the Friends settled at Tunessassa, from which, and the report of three of their own number, who visited the settlement in the 9th Month last, they say, "it is manifest that there is in the natives an encouraging improvement in agriculture, and some of the mechanic arts, as well as in the regularity of their lives and manners; the latter of which, we apprehend, has been considerably promoted by the aid of our women Friends, who are among them." And that report, stating the general import of the narrative of one of the visitors, (first above mentioned), further expresses, that "some of the Indian women and girls appear much disposed to be instructed by the women Friends;" and that, in the course of their journey, they had "not seen one Indian the least intoxicated with liquor."—A proof of reformation, which they only can fully appreciate, who are acquainted with the former intemperate habits of this long neglected class of our fellow creatures.'

To this interesting intelligence we have to add, that the President of the United States has lately encouraged the undertaking, by appointing a superintendant and eight assistants, chosen from the body of the Quakers, to reside among the Indians, with suitable salaries, and an allowance of expenses for travelling, distributing tools, &c. The yearly sum allotted to this service, is about ten thousand dollars.

ART. XIV. *Household Furniture and Internal Decorations executed from Designs.* By Thomas Hope. Folio. pp. 173. London, 1807.

AT a time when we thought every male creature in the country was occupied with its politics and its dangers, an English gentleman, of large fortune and good education, has found leisure to compose a folio on household furniture. We do not think this would have been much to his credit, even if the upholstery had been more laudable than it is. A man of taste, if he be also a man of leisure, will show it, no doubt, in his furniture, as well as in his dress; but he will infallibly make himself ridiculous, in this country, if he make a study and an occupation of such frivolous concerns. What should we say of a young nobleman who had studied and travelled, and drawn and modelled, for many years, in order to acquire and describe a collection of classical—wigs, spencers, boots, and pantaloons? And what better are Mr Hope's stools, fire-screens, candlesticks and dressing-glasses? There is in England, we believe, a pretty general contempt for those who are habitually and seriously occupied about such paltry and fantastical luxuries; and, at such a moment as the present, we confess we are not a little proud of this Roman

spirit, which leaves the study of those effeminate elegancies to slaves and foreigners, and holds it beneath the dignity of a free man to be eminently skilled in the decoration of couches and the mounting of chandeliers.

If we were to form our judgment of Mr Hope's taste from his style of writing, we should certainly be shy of submitting ourselves to his guidance—even in the form of our ice pails. But when a gentleman condescends to write about household furniture, it is natural enough that his production should read like a flashy shop-bill, or the eloquence of a happy auctioneer. We do not know that we have ever met with any thing, out of a newspaper, so exquisitely bombastic, pedantic, and trashy, as the composition of this colossal volume. The Introduction, which covers near twenty of these vast pages, is, upon the whole, the most elaborate and highly finished part of the volume; and really deserves some commemoration for the preeminence of its solemn foppery. If the salvation of Europe depended on Mr Hope's eloquence, he could not have exerted it with more earnestness and animation; and we are convinced, that neither the restorers of learning nor the reformers of religion, ever spoke of their subject in terms half so magnificent, nor of their own abilities with such studied and graceful modesty, as this ingenious person has here done, in recommending to his countrymen a better form for their lamps, sideboards, and cradles. As the great price of the volume puts it out of the reach of ordinary readers, we shall make a few extracts,—just to let them see what sort of books fine people pay ten guineas for.

The introduction sets out with informing us, 'that under the 'general denomination of *Household Furniture*, are comprised 'an infinite variety of different productions of human industry, 'wrought in wood, in stone, in metal, in compositions of various descriptions, in silk, in wool, in cotton, and in other less 'usual materials.' We are then told that these things may be either ugly or pretty; and that, till very lately, they were abandoned, in this country, 'to the taste of the sole upholder;' which meritorious description of artists is then stigmatized as being 'utterly ignorant of the most familiar principles of visible beauty, and wholly uninstructed in the simplest elements of drawing.' In consequence of this sad desertion of duty by our men of taste, Mr Hope proceeds to inform us, that

'Furniture of every description, wrought by the most mechanical processes only, either remained absolutely void of all ornament whatever, or, if made to exhibit any attempt at embellishment, offered in its decoration no approach towards that breadth and repose of surface, that distinctness and contrast of outline, that opposition of plain and of enriched parts, that harmony and significance of accessories, and that apt

accord between the peculiar meaning of each imitative or significant detail, and the peculiar destination of the main object to which these accessories belonged, which are calculated to afford to the eye and mind the most lively, most permanent, and most unfading enjoyment.' p. 2.

From the badness of our taste, Mr Hope next deduces the incessant fluctuation of our fashions; and laments, in very moving terms, the great sums thus uselessly thrown away, which, by being expended on household furniture of a better quality, 'might have increased in endless progress the opulence of the individual, and the wealth of the community.' Something better, indeed, might sometimes be had abroad; but Mr Hope's patriotism startles at the idea of importation; and he would by no means be accessory to 'diminishing the balance of trade in our favour,' or 'raising the 'pride of foreigners at our expense, by a tacit acknowledgement 'of inferiority in the arts of elegance and taste.' This public-spirited principle, indeed, seems to have actuated him throughout; for, after talking of his improvements as likely to convert into objects of 'beneficial exportation' those articles 'which had here-'tofore only appeared in the repulsive and unpatriotic shape of ex-'pensive articles of foreign ingenuity,' he sums up the advantages to be gained 'through the more general diffusion of the charms 'of art, and through the thence resulting more general initiation 'into the mysteries of taste,' in the following sublime period.

'Thus, in fine, I hoped to contribute my mite not only towards remotely giving new food to the industry of the poor, but new decorum to the expenditure of the rich; not only towards ultimately increasing the welfare and the commerce of the nation, but refining the intellectual and sensible enjoyments of the individual; and thus, through the distant but powerful operation of the *new stimuli applied to the human mind*, I flattered myself with some day seeing the same copious source of benefit here first opened, produce *farther advancement in virtue and patriotism*, as well as farther progress in opulence and enjoyment; farther claims to respect in our own eyes, as well as farther titles to consideration in the eyes of foreigners.' p. 6, 7.

Would any one imagine that this eloquent person was talking of improvements in the construction of chairs, footstools and book-cases? But the reader will have but a very inadequate idea of Mr Hope's gift of wordiness, unless we give him a little more. After talking of 'the humble and restricted way' in which he had endeavoured to set the example of a better taste, he expresses a modest hope, that, by this means, the arts of design

—'might be made to diffuse their beneficial influence throughout the minutest ramifications even of what had hitherto been considered as the exclusive province of the mere mechanic trades; and that consequently almost every production of industry, rescued in some measure from the hands of the mere plodding artisan, would be enabled to give

ſome ſcope to the talent of the profeſſor of the more liberal arts,—the draughtſman, the modeller, the painter, and the ſculptor.' p. 4.

'Thus, I hoped to open to ingenuity a new and boundleſs field, in which the greater number of artiſts, who, though qualified to riſe above the ſphere of the mere artiſan, yet are not ſufficiently gifted to reach the higheſt provinces of the fine arts, might find an ample ſource of ſuch employment, as, without being of the moſt exalted deſcription, were yet, to a certain degree, elegant and dignified; and in which, moreover, that ſmaller number of ſuperior men, deſtined by the liberality of nature to aſpire at eminence in the higheſt and nobleſt branches of the fine arts, might find a means firſt to diſcover the latent germs of their genius to themſelves and to others; firſt to cultivate and to extend their abilities; firſt to give to a diſtruſtful public earneſts of the far greater height to which more ample encouragement might ultimately carry their powers; and firſt to preſent to that public, inducements to beſtow on them that greater encouragement required for this purpoſe.' p. 5.

Having sketched in these and twenty such passages, the splendid object he had in view in this laborious undertaking, Mr Hope proceeds, in language still more moving and magnificent, to describe the difficulties he had to encounter in this arduous attempt.

'The union of the different modifications of viſible and intellectual beauty which were deſireable, with the different attributes of utility and comfort which were eſſential; the aſſociation of all the elegancies of antique forms and ornaments, with all the requiſites of modern cuſtoms and habits, having heretofore been ſo ſeldom attended to, in objects of common and daily uſe, I found no one profeſſional man, at once poſſeſſed of ſufficient intimacy with the ſtores of literature to ſuggeſt ideas, and of ſufficient practice in the art of drawing to execute deſigns, that might be capable of ennobling, through means of their ſhape and their acceſſories, things ſo humble in their chief purpoſe and deſtination as a table and a chair, a footſtool and a ſcreen.' p. 7.

In this state of miserable destitution, a feebler genius would have been led to relinquish the attempt. But Mr Hope had resources in himself; and thus obliged to depend, as he is modestly pleased to express himself, on 'his own inadequate abilities, 'and on that feeble talent for drawing, which he had thus far 'only cultivated as the means of beguiling an idle hour;' he set about making drawings himself of the different articles of furniture he wished to procure. But new perplexities crowded in upon him. The upholder could not work from mere drawings; and Mr Hope could find no one in this barbarous land capable of making models from them! He is obliged to have them done in Italy. He takes two pages to tell this,—beginning thus.

'From the lines firſt traced by the draughtſman on a mere plane, muſt ſtill, in the ſecond place, by the modeller, be wrought, in ſome

ſoft and yielding ſubſtance, a relievo, exhibiting in detail of all thoſe projections and receſſes, which are unſuſceptible of being expreſſed in the drawing, and which nevertheleſs are intended to be diſplayed in the actual implement, before theſe concavities and theſe convexities can, in the third and laſt inſtance, by the carver or the caſter be, with any certainty of ſucceſs, transferred to the more ſolid and more inflexible material, out of which the utenſil itſelf is finally to be wrought.' p. 9.

Even when he had got his models, he found that, 'like the race of draughtsmen and of modellers, that of carvers in wood and stone, and casters in metal, were almost totally wanting;' so that, 'after the most laborious search,' he was only able to find two men to whom he could entrust the execution of his designs. These two distinguished persons he has gratefully immortalized by naming them in this monumental volume; and, foreigners though they be, we will not withhold them from our readers. The one is Decaix, a bronzist, and a native of France; the other Bogaert, a carver, born in the Low Countries. With this scanty assistance, Mr Hope's work proceeded so slowly, that he closes his narrative by stating, that from these causes 'I have hitherto succeeded in embodying in wood and metal, or 'imprinting on paper and cotton, but a very small portion of 'the latter and more extended ideas, which in the course of my 'first and more restricted endeavours, I successively was led to 'conceive.' The upholsterers, however, had got hold of many of his articles; and as they were exposing them to ridicule by 'extravagant caricatures, and injudicious imitations,' he thought it necessary to rescue them from this degradation, by the present publication, which, among other advantages, is expected to form an era in the history of engraving, and to produce 'a total new 'development of the germs of the peculiar species of abilities 'requisite for the purpose.' This subject is pursued in the style of which the reader has now had a sufficient specimen; and the introduction ends with an earnest and affectionate warning to the young artist into whose hand the volume may fall, 'not 'to confine his exertions to a mere servile copying of its con-'tents.'

The work itself consists chiefly of plates, with descriptions, and occasional remarks and dissertations,—of which, we think, the most valuable and important is the following fine eulogium on bronze.

'Ornaments in bronze, which, being cast, may, wherever a frequent repetition of the same forms is required, be wrought at a much cheaper rate than ornaments in other materials, only producible through the more tedious process of carving; which, moreover, may be indiscriminately affixed to objects in wood, or stone, or metal, or porcelain, or any other; which, thirdly, when once placed, seem liable to little

or no injury or discolouring either from the effects of weather or wear, of carriage or dirt; which, in the fourth place, nowise irretrievably cohering with the body of the object, on whose surface they are situated, may, either on a renewal or a change of habitation, be taken off things become useless or decayed, however long they have adhered to the same, and be applied to new objects; and which, finally, on a desire to increase the richness of their appearance, may, however long they have served in their green and naked state, still assume a richer garb, be gilt and be burnished,—seem, in a country where fuel is less expensive than hands, and where the atmosphere, charged with damp and with smoke, is seldom pure, preferable to sculptured ornaments, whose original fabrication, in any quantities, is more expensive; whose texture is more brittle; whose hue is more delicate; which, easily discoloured, and easily broken, are difficult to clean, and more difficult to mend; and which, lastly, never susceptible of being severed from the object to which they belong, must follow its fate, and perish with the same.' p. 29, 30.

Of the plates, and of the articles which they represent, we are of course unable to give our readers any clear ideas. Many of the objects, being exactly copied from the fine remains of antient art, are unquestionably beautiful in themselves; but we must take the liberty to say, that we think them, for the most part, quite unsuitable for articles of household furniture, and to predict, that the fashion which Mr Hope may now succeed in introducing, will not be much more permanent than those which it has supplanted. We say so for a great variety of reasons; some of which we shall shortly run over.

In the *first* place, the articles are in general too bulky, massive, and ponderous, to be commodious for general use.—There are arm chairs, whose cold hollow square would contain a woolsack,—and couches which could not be moved by a dozen of Irish chairmen. A considerable number of articles of this kind are copied from antient monuments in marble. But Mr Hope should have known, that sculpture requires a mass and breadth in its representations, which must be extremely inconvenient, and therefore unbecoming, in utensils of ordinary use. In things which are of real, frequent, and essential use, the chief source of beauty will always be the visible sign of utility; and any quality which obviously interferes with that, must produce the effect of deformity. Now, in chairs, tables, footstools, &c. it is a substantial part of their convenience, to be easily moved; and accordingly, the improving luxury of the age has gone on to make them lighter and lighter for the greater part of a century. Mr Hope, however, is a great advocate for solidity; and has produced such an assemblage of squared timber, and massive brass, as would weigh down the floor and crush out the walls of

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an ordinary London house. Let any one look at the chairs in the Egyptian room, (pl. 8.), or at that in plate 22. with their enormous pediments, friezes, and massive bronze ornaments, and say whether it be possible for such things to come into use as articles of furniture, till aldermen wear armour, and take their afternoon naps in Guildhall.

In the *second* place, we object to the whole scheme and system of embellishment, as being affected, pedantic and unnatural in the very highest degree. Every thing is to be adorned, according to Mr Hope, with emblems and symbols connected with the uses to which it is applied,—and all these emblems are to be derived from *classical mythology!* We can scarcely conceive any conceit more miserably poor, cold and shallow than this. After having banished the heathen gods and their attributes pretty well from our poetry, we are to introduce them habitually into our eating-rooms, nurseries, and staircases; and, in the course of our daily business and domestic life, to set constantly before us a chaos of symbols and effigies which no man can interpret who has not the whole Pantheon at his finger ends! We should expect something like this taste in the vestibule of an academical museum, or in the dwelling of a fantastic usher of a grammar-school; but we should be very sorry to see it supersede every other in the metropolis of a great and manly and polished people. Is there any other grown Englishman who would choose to speak of his furniture in this jargon? Describing an organ, for instance—

'The car of the god of music, of Apollo, glides over the centre of the pediment. The tripods, sacred to this deity, surmount the angles. Laurel wreaths and other emblems, belonging to the son of Latona, appear embroidered on the drapery, which, in the form of an ancient peplum or veil, descends over the pipes of the instrument, and gives it the appearance of a sanctuary.' p. 22.

He afterwards says of a sideboard, 'It is adorned with em-'blems of Bacchus and of Ceres. Cellaret ornamented with am-'phoræ and with figures allusive to the liquid element. To the 'right, a sloping altar surmounted by a vase. On the table, a 'vase with Bacchanalian marks,' &c. And, in the same taste, we meet with 'a mantlepiece surmounted with two Mythriac 'figures, and the heads of Vesta and Vulcan, emblematic of the 'worship of fire,—a stand for ewer and bason with *sea monsters*, 'and other aquatic emblems round the frieze—bedsteads orna-'mented with figures of Night rising on her crescent and spread-'ing her poppies,' &c. &c.

We have already said, that the constant recurrence of those emblems which are not naturally expressive of any thing, and are only significant of course to the professed antiquary, must give

a padantic and affected air to any mansion of which they formed the sole decorations. But, in the *third* place, we would object to Mr Hope's peculiar manner of grouping and combining them, as being beyond all former example artificial and offensive. He has made a perfect hieroglyphic or enigma of most of his apartments by this means; and produced something so childishly complicated and fantastic, as to be impenetrable without a paraphrase, and ridiculous when it is interpreted. As a specimen we give his description of plate 7.

'The central object in this room is a fine marble group, executed by Mr Flaxman, and representing Aurora visiting Cephalus on Mount Ida. The whole surrounding decoration has been rendered, in some degree, analogous to these personages, and to the face of nature at the moment when the first of the two, the goddess of the morn, is supposed to announce approaching day. Round the bottom of the room still reign the emblems of night. In the rail of a black marble table are introduced medallions of the god of sleep and of the goddess of night. The bird consecrated to the latter deity perches on the pillars of a black marble chimneypiece, whose broad frieze is studded with golden stars. The sides of the room display, in *satin curtains*, draped in ample folds over pannels of looking-glass, and edged with *black velvet*, the fiery hue which fringes the clouds just before sunrise: and in a ceiling of cooler sky blue are sown, amidst a few still unextinguished luminaries of the night, the roses which the harbinger of day, in her course, spreads on every side around her.

'The pedestal of the group offers the torches, the garlands, the wreaths, and the other insignia belonging to the mistress of Cephalus, disposed around the fatal dart of which she made her lover a present. The broad band which girds the top of the room, contains medallions of the ruddy goddess and of the Phrygian youth, intermixed with the instruments and the emblems of the chase, his favourite amusement. Figures of the youthful hours, adorned with wreaths of foliage, adorn part of the furniture, which is chiefly gilt, in order to give more relief to the azure, the black, and the orange compartments of the hangings.' p. 25, 26.

Would any one desire a more exquisite representation of the Dawn? Satin curtains with black velvet binding!—a marble table with a rail!—a black chimneypiece and gilt furniture!

We do not know any thing at all parallel to this—but the ingenious personification of Moonshine, and a rough-cast Wall in the lamentable tragedy of Pyramus and Thisbe;—and earnestly hope that we may be defended from seeing Mr Hope's chamber copied in any other dwelling, till our dramatists revive those magnificent personages.

In the *last* place, we object to Mr Hope's system of embellishment, because it is, in a thousand instances, incongruous and

inconsistent with the very principle which he has himself laid down. That principle, if through the glare of his diction we have been able to discover it, is, that every object should have an appropriate ornament, and that all its decorations should bear reference to its uses, and to each other. Now, though, in the instances already quoted, and in some others, a melancholy attempt is made to preserve this pedantic congruity, it is obviously and entirely abandoned in the far greater number of the articles with which we are here presented in illustration of it. Why, for instance, should a chair be in the shape of a lyre,—or of two antique swords —or have a ram's head on the arm, and a bronze pine on the top of the corner? By virtue of what analogy is a griffin or a chimæra introduced to support a dressing table?—or what has a lion's head to do on the pediment of a sofa, and a man's bust on the corner? Can Mr Hope give any very good reason why a wine-cooler should be made in the shape of an ancient bath,—why a sloping altar should be placed by the end of a sideboard,—why a fireplace should be made, in one instance, in the form of a façade to a sepulchral chamber, and in another in that of an Egyptian portico,—or finally, why a firescreen should have the form of a Roman shield, and be adorned with the fulmen of Jupiter? All meaning and propriety is plainly lost sight of in those and innumerable other instances. But the most ludicrous of the whole, is that, in which two horses' heads are made to project from the mantlepiece of an eating room, for this very satisfactory reason,—that there is a bust in the centre inscribed with the name of *Philip*; which name, in Greek, the unlearned reader will please to be informed, signifies a lover of horses!—This is about the most pitiful attempt at a *pun* in sculpture that we ever recollect to have met with. The lion tearing the cocks at Blenheim is not half so bad; nor do we believe that any thing more would be necessary to discredit this whole collection, along with the system and the taste of its author, than merely to mention, that, in pursuance of his grand project for imparting significance, harmony and intellect to the decorations of our houses, he had brought two horses to his parlour fireside, because he had a bust of *Philip* on the mantlepiece! There is a similar attempt at a pun in ornamenting a lamp with a wreath of *nightshade*; and, for any thing we know, there may be a more interesting and ingenious allusion of the same sort in the decoration of a cradle with emblems of Dreams, Night, and—*Hope*.

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